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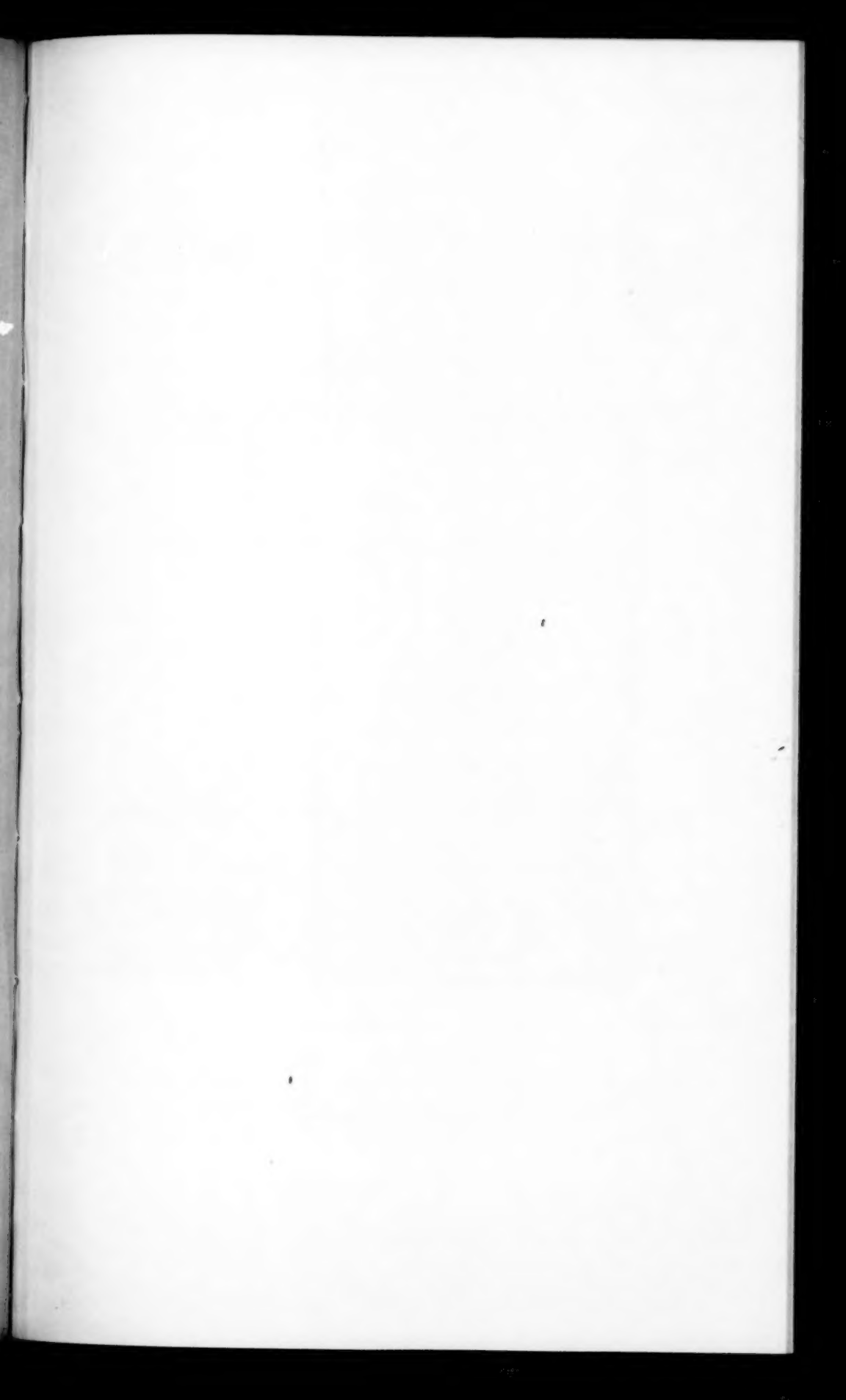
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## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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WILLIAM HENRY WINDER (1775-1824)

By JOSEPH WOOD

Brigadier General, U. S. Army, from March 12, 1813, to January 15, 1815.

Portrait owned by his great grandson, John Henry Winder, Esquire.

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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## CONTROVERSY OVER THE COMMAND AT BALTIMORE, IN THE WAR OF 1812

By RALPH ROBINSON

That Major General Samuel Smith assumed command of the Army, gathered for the defense of Baltimore in September, 1814, at the instance of a committee soliciting his services, is well known, but the conflict of his authority with that of General William H. Winder<sup>1</sup> which followed is a chapter in military history hitherto unwritten.

When the British fleet sailed into the Chesapeake in August, bringing the army that later fought at North Point, Samuel Smith was the most conspicuous and one of the most distinguished residents of Baltimore. A major general in command of the 3rd Division of Maryland Militia with headquarters in that City, he was a veteran of the Continental Army who could proudly exhibit a sword voted him by the Continental Congress in recognition of his services. General Smith's interests, however, were not wholly centered on military affairs. Now sixty-two years of age, he represented Maryland in the United States Senate and, although a Jeffersonian Republican, was not accounted as a die-hard sup-

<sup>1</sup> In the United States pronounced as if spelled Wine-der. In England the pronunciation is Win-der.

The Winder MSS to which references are made are owned by The Johns Hopkins University which has courteously given the writer access to them. The Smith MSS referred to are the Samuel Smith papers in the Library of Congress.

porter of the Madison administration. Moreover, as the head of the firm of Smith & Buchanan he had been for a number of years extensively and profitably engaged in the shipping business—now, however, seriously interfered with by the War.

General Winder had been an officer in the army of the United States since April, 1812, when at the age of thirty-seven, he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel. Prior to that time his military experience had been limited to service in Baltimore as a captain of a company of militia. Born in Somerset County of a family that had its roots deep in the soil of that locality, he had obtained there both professional and political recognition when he decided in 1807 to move to Baltimore. Here his professional advancement had been such that when he entered the Army he was one of the leaders of the Baltimore bar and in the reception of an income that amounted to several times the pay of a lieutenant colonel of the army. In politics Winder was a Federalist, wearing the badge of the party opposed to the administration at Washington. His decision to enter the army must, therefore, be attributed solely to his desire to serve his country in a war which he believed to be inescapable and shortly to be declared.

Raised to the rank of colonel following the declaration of war by Congress in June, Winder had been ordered to the Niagara frontier in command of a force of less than 500 men recruited by him in Maryland.<sup>2</sup>

For conspicuous service there he was raised to the rank of brigadier general in the spring of 1813, but had the misfortune to be captured by the British in the Battle of Stoney Creek fought in June following and he remained a prisoner until June, 1814, when he was exchanged.

While a prisoner Winder instituted and brought to conclusion an exchange of prisoners which put an end to the degrading and inconvenient series of reprisals inaugurated by the administration when 23 American prisoners captured at the Battle of Queenston were threatened with death by the British government.<sup>3</sup>

This brought him in touch with the Madison administration and with Monroe in particular with whom an intimacy developed that remained unbroken until Winder's death.

<sup>2</sup> Winder to General John Dearborn. Winder MSS.

<sup>3</sup> The service performed by Winder in this connection is the subject of an article by the writer appearing in the October, 1943, issue of the *American Historical Review*.

When events in June, 1814, disclosed the probability of an attack by the British to be delivered in the area of the Chesapeake, the administration made preparations to meet it. For the purposes of military administration the United States had been divided into 9 districts, each in command of an officer selected by the War Department. It was now decided to create a new district to be known as the 10th in which Maryland, the District of Columbia and that part of Virginia which lies between the Rappahannock and Potomac River would be included.<sup>4</sup>

For the command of the new district in which lay Washington, Baltimore and Annapolis, and for the defense of which measures must now be taken, General Winder, just returned to military duty through exchange, was selected. Thus it came about that the American forces on the 24th of August, 1814, defeated at Bladensburg, were commanded by him.

Following that disaster, Winder established headquarters at Montgomery Court House and here assembled the remnants of the troops that remained in the vicinity.<sup>5</sup> These he organized and prepared to move to Baltimore which he anticipated would next be attacked by the British and to which he sent couriers with orders to provide food and munitions. On the morning of August 26th he set his force in motion and when he reached Snells Bridge on the Patuxent decided to leave it in command of General Tobias Stansbury and hurry on to Baltimore to bend the whole force of his power as commander of the 10th Military District to bring into activity all the resources of the place.<sup>6</sup>

Before reaching the city Winder was astonished to receive a letter by express from Major General Samuel Smith informing him that he had been called into service and had assumed command *according to his rank*.<sup>7</sup> This meant that from now on Winder would take orders from Smith, and if so, his position as commander of the 10th Military District in which Baltimore was included would be jeopardized and beset with all manner of confusion.

<sup>4</sup> The order creating the nine military districts was issued March 19, 1813. The new 10th District was created by order issued in July, 1814, and was carved out of the existing 5th District, which was made up of Maryland and Virginia. Niles' *Weekly Register*, IV, 65; VI, 319.

<sup>5</sup> Winder's statement to Congressional Committee investigating the capture of Washington. *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, I, 556.

<sup>6</sup> Winder to General John Stricker, August 25, Winder MSS.

<sup>7</sup> Smith to Winder, August 26.

In assembling the troops for the defense of Washington prior to Bladensburg, Winder had had a number of contacts with Smith and had found occasion to express appreciation of his cooperative efforts.<sup>8</sup> This cordial intercourse in the past served only to increase Winder's surprise and perplexity at the information imparted by his letter.

Smith had already given consideration to a possible conflict in authority between himself and Winder. Upon learning of the arrival of the British fleet in the Bay, he wrote to the Governor of Maryland, requesting to be informed what his rank relative to Winder's would be should he be required to call out the militia under the provisions of the State law. "The importance, and in my belief, absolute necessity of understanding the nature of our respective duties at this period," he wrote, "will plead my apology for asking of your Excellency instructions for my government."<sup>9</sup> In reply the Governor tactfully wrote:

The Secretary of War, I understand is of the opinion that no officer of the United States, be his grade ever so inferior, is to be commanded by a militia officer of any grade, unless he (the latter) is in the service of the United States, according to which opinion, you, while commanding a Division under authority of the State, would be subject to the authority of an officer of the United States if you were circumstanced so as to be compelled to act together.<sup>10</sup>

While the Governor asserted he was not in accord with this view, he did not, he said at present wish to give a stock opinion and would write Smith further. Smith's inquiries he said "led to a subject in which he had long foreseen difficulties would some day arise probably of serious inconvenience to the public service." And here the matter rested for the time being.

Whatever information General Winder may have had as to this correspondence, immediately upon his reaching Baltimore on the evening of the 26th of August, he wrote the Governor asking for a confirmation of Smith's claim.

Now the Governor of Maryland was Levin Winder, the General's uncle whose affection for and interest in his nephew is displayed in the letters that passed between them. In reply to the General's inquiry the Governor wrote:

<sup>8</sup> Winder to Smith, July 21. Smith MSS.

<sup>9</sup> Smith to Governor Levin Winder, August 18. Smith MSS.

<sup>10</sup> Governor Winder to Smith, August 18. Smith MSS.

Yesterday, I received a letter from Mr. Johnson [Mayor of Baltimore] as Chairman of a Committee, stating that they desired General Smith to take command at Baltimore and that I would invest General Smith with further powers. I returned for answer, it was proper for General Smith to take command of the militia and make every arrangement for the defense of the place, but that I could not invest him with any powers which he did not already possess except to inform him that according to the requisition of the Government of the United States for a Major General, he had been selected for that purpose, but certainly this information was not contemplated to give General Smith command nor neither could it take effect in any respect until confirmation was given to it by the General Government.<sup>11</sup>

Before disclosing the next move made by General Winder it is necessary to review the incidents preceding the letter sent to the Governor by the Mayor of Baltimore to which the Governor makes reference.

On the day preceding the Battle of Bladensburg there had been formed in Baltimore a general Committee of Vigilance and Safety made up of representatives from the wards and the areas known as "The Eastern Precincts" and "The Western Precincts." At a meeting of this Committee, held on the day following Bladensburg, a sub-committee of which Col. John Eager Howard, the hero of Cowpens (whose son had served as aide to General Winder at Bladensburg) was chairman, was appointed to wait on General Smith and to request that he would at this important crisis take upon himself the command of the forces that might be called in defence of the City. The sub-committee acted pursuant to a communication received by the Committee of Vigilance and Safety from Brigadier General John Stricker, Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, Major George Armistead of the regular U. S. Army serving at Fort McHenry and Master-Commandant Robert T. Spence of the U. S. Navy, attached to the command of Commodore John Rodgers, in which they expressed the wish that Major General Smith be requested to take command at Baltimore.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Governor Winder to General Winder, August 27. Winder MSS.

<sup>12</sup> See text of original minutes in this issue, p. 199 ff. Perry was in Baltimore in connection with the building and equipment of a vessel intended for his command. That Armistead should have been one of the signers of the letter to the Committee of Vigilance was a breach of military etiquette, to say the least. Armistead, serving at Fort McHenry, was under Winder's command.

The sub-committee headed by Colonel Howard, after waiting on General Smith, reported that he would take command, but that he wished to be sanctioned in so doing by the Governor and that "his powers might be extended." It was pursuant to this request that the Mayor of Baltimore wrote the Governor.

What the Governor wrote Smith did not contain the limitations as to Smith's command expressed in his letter to his nephew General Winder. It was as follows:

By request of the President of the United States of the tenth of July last, one Major General is requested of this State. In compliance to which you have been selected.<sup>13</sup>

"The request of the President" refers to an order issued by the War Department on the preceding fourth of July establishing the militia quotas which the several states were requested to raise for possible service in the war, that for Maryland being 6,000 men, one major general, three brigadier generals and staff officers in addition.<sup>14</sup>

Such militia as were under arms in Maryland had been called into the service of the United States by an order issued by General Winder prior to Bladensburg and the capture of Washington, but it did not include Major-General Smith or any officer higher in rank than brigadier general.

Governor Winder's letter to Smith, above quoted, was sufficiently cryptic to serve Smith's purposes and those of the committee. They construed it to mean that he too had now been called into the service of the United States in the rank of major general, by the Governor by virtue of an authority conferred under the order of July 4th.

Being a man of action and a senator of the United States, Smith did not refer any doubts as to his status to the Secretary of War. Instead he took the bull by the horns and boldly wrote him that he had been appointed by Governor Winder to the command of the quota of Maryland under the General Order of July 4th and had assumed the command conformable with his rank. "General Winder is in the City," he added, "I have not yet seen him. . . . My force may be called 4000 effectives. I am throwing up field work."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Winder to Smith, August 26. Smith MSS.

<sup>14</sup> *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, I, 550.

<sup>15</sup> Smith to Armstrong, Secretary of War, August 27. Smith MSS.

In this fashion technicalities were brushed aside and Smith became *de facto* commander in chief at Baltimore.

He was, we are told, "soon . . . on horseback, traversing the City and animating his fellow citizens to buckle on their arms and to prepare to defend their homes and all that was dear to free men."<sup>16</sup>

Stiffening the resolution of his fellow citizens was a need of the hour, for there was a feeling abroad that the wisest plan was to buy off immunity from attack, as Alexandria had done when Captain James Gordon's squadron dropped anchor before that city. Opposed to this craven counsel resolutely stood such men as Colonel John Eager Howard, who is reported to have declared that he had four sons in the field and as much property at stake as most persons, but would see his sons slain and his property reduced to ashes than so far disgrace his country.<sup>17</sup> Happily the decision was to resist and happily too the names of the appeasers are wrapped in a merciful oblivion.

To Winder there appeared to be a way out of the difficulty created by Smith's assumption of command and this he now decided to pursue. He wrote to John Armstrong, the Secretary of War, and suggested that he be raised to rank of major general in which as an officer of the regular army he would "out-top" Smith.

Stating that he had sent to Smith a copy of Governor Winder's letter to him,

he, to my astonishment, [wrote General Winder], still conceives himself in command and persists to exercise it. The manner, [he continued], in which General Smith has placed himself in command in my absence is at least very singular. The immediate and peremptory decision of the Government which can only give me necessary support to enable me to act with effect, is absolutely necessary and although I have never pretended to urge pretensions to increase in rank, yet I submit it now; for the readiest mode of avoiding all difficulty will be giving me a rank to overreach

<sup>16</sup> From a prepared statement in the Smith MSS. It cannot be overlooked that there was a solid basis for having Smith take over the defense of Baltimore, quite aside from his competency to command. Ever since April of the preceding year where construction of the different works for the City's security was begun, they had been under the supervision of Smith acting as major general of the 3rd Division of Maryland Militia and credit for their progress and effectiveness on September 12th cannot be denied him. See Scharf's *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 341 *et seq.*

<sup>17</sup> Daniel C. Gilman, "Colonel John Eager Howard," in *Launching of a University* (New York, 1906), p. 383.

the possible danger of conflict with any militia officer—as will also to give me the most decisive evidence of the countenance of the Government at this perilous and difficult moment.<sup>18</sup>

If precedent could be relied on, Winder had reason to believe that this proposal would be hospitably received by the Secretary. On an earlier occasion he had decided a priority in rank in Winder's favor when the question was raised by the pretensions of Major General Van Ness of the District of Columbia militia. He then held that when those troops were called into the service of the United States their division commander was not included unless it was specifically so stated.<sup>19</sup>

But that was before Bladensburg.

Armstrong now had troubles of his own which no doubt absorbed his full attention. The responsibility for the defeat of the American forces in that engagement was chiefly saddled on the Secretary, although Winder was included in the censure.

The former was charged with indifference to any disaster that might befall Washington, the choice of which for the national capitol, it was claimed, he had always opposed, and Winder whose appointment as commander of the 10th Military District Armstrong had opposed "was reprobated as a Federalist and a fool." Thus were assailed in these few words both his fealty to the Administration and his military capacity.<sup>20</sup>

Armstrong's response to Winder's request to be raised to the rank of major general was evasive. His letter, he said, had been submitted to the President and "the course which under pressure here is thought advisable, is that you return to this place with the regular infantry as soon as possible and that you turn off General Douglas and his Brigade from the route to Washington."<sup>21</sup>

Pursuant to this order, dated August 29th, Winder proceeded to Washington. However, in the brief interval between the 29th and the 31st of August incidents of momentous importance to the Secretary of War had transpired in Washington. These will now be reviewed.

<sup>18</sup> Winder to Armstrong, August 28. Winder MSS.

<sup>19</sup> For an interesting account of this controversy see *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, I, 581-2.

<sup>20</sup> Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War* (Phila., 1845), II, p. 170.

<sup>21</sup> Armstrong to Winder, August 29. Winder MSS.

Following the withdrawal of the British from Washington the President and Monroe had returned on August 26th to find the City and Georgetown in a state of great confusion and alarm. Captain James Gordon with his squadron of the British fleet that had been sent up the Potomac when Admiral Cochrane left the mouth of that river for the Patuxent, was at Alexandria of which he had taken possession, and the seizure of Washington and Georgetown was momentarily expected.

Armstrong, Secretary of War, was still in Frederick, Maryland, to which he had fled when Washington fell to the British and Winder was in Baltimore. Prompt measures were indispensable. In the circumstances the President requested Monroe to take over Armstrong's portfolio and also military command of the District of Columbia. Complying with the request, Monroe found himself Secretary of State, Secretary of War and in active military service with a combination of duties and responsibilities never before and never since in the history of this country assumed by a member of the cabinet.

On the morning following the assumption of his command, Monroe in company with the President and Mr. Rush, the Attorney General, had visited the Navy Yard, and the arsenal at Greenleaf Point and had adopted measures under sanction of the President for the defense of the city and Georgetown.<sup>22</sup>

The assumption of a command in the army was the realization of an ambition cherished by Monroe from the outbreak of the war. After the defeat of Hull, Madison had offered him the command in the northwest, but Armstrong had, unknown to the President, slipped in the appointment of Harrison. At the close of the campaign in the fall of 1813 it was again suggested that he take the field but finding that it meant service under Major General John Dearborn he expressed preference for his cabinet berth.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> S. M. Hamilton, ed., *Writings of James Monroe*, V, Appendix, p. 374. It was while exercising this command that an officer was ordered from the field by Monroe for insubordination. This officer has mistakenly been identified in D. C. Gilman, *James Monroe* (American Statesmen Series), as General Winder. See index sub-nom *Winder*. At the time the incident occurred Winder was in Baltimore.

<sup>23</sup> Hamilton, *op. cit.*, V, Appendix, p. 374. The story of Monroe's military ambition is told in a letter to Thomas Jefferson. *Ibid.* What capacity Monroe would have displayed as a general officer is pure conjecture. His military command in the District of Columbia was too limited and too brief to furnish any information, but his service in the Continental Army found a severe critic in Aaron Burr. "He

Thus when John Armstrong returned to Washington from Frederick on August 29th he found his post of Secretary of War occupied by Monroe and military command of the District likewise committed to him. Whatever misgivings this situation may have created for Armstrong they were soon resolved.

On the afternoon of the very day of his arrival he was visited by the President who, after reviewing the situation, including the responsibility for the defeat at Bladensburg, succeeded in making it very clear to his Secretary of War that his usefulness in the cabinet was at an end. Armstrong left Washington at once for Baltimore where the next day he wrote out his resignation and forwarded it to the President.<sup>24</sup>

Thus it happened that when General Winder, pursuant to the order of Armstrong above mentioned, arrived in Washington on August 31st, he found his friend Monroe not only Secretary of War, but exercising command in an area included in his own. Nevertheless, he issued a general order stating that headquarters of Military District No. 10 were now established in Washington to which returns and communications should be directed unless his movements otherwise required.<sup>25</sup>

Reviewing this change in the situation, Winder now decided that he would submit to Monroe the confusion attending the assumption of command by Smith and ask the relief that he had not succeeded in getting from Armstrong.

He accordingly drew up a summary of his activities covering the period of his services in the 10th Military District and on September 1st submitted it to Monroe together with a letter in which he said:

I beg leave simply to say that it is due me in justice and it is due the Government that they should give me the most emphatic support. If they omit to take that step now at every subsequent misfortune, however inevitable, they will be obliged to change their commanding officer and thereby deny themselves the possibility of executing any subsequent plan for defense of the Country at this perilous moment.<sup>26</sup>

pretends as I am told," he wrote, "to some knowledge of military matters but he never commanded a platoon nor was ever fit to command one." Burr to Governor Alston. Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, p. 351-2. Burr's opinion of Monroe's legal ability was no higher: "As a lawyer Monroe was far below mediocrity. He never rose to the honor of trying a case of the value of a hundred pounds." *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Gaillard Hunt, ed., *Writings of James Madison*, VIII, 300-304.

<sup>25</sup> Winder MSS.

<sup>26</sup> Winder to Monroe, Winder MSS.

But Monroe was not sufficiently moved by this appeal to gratify his friends's wishes. Baltimore had selected the man it wanted to assume the defense of the city. The enemy was on its way to attack it. This was no time to encourage disunity.

On the day following receipt of Winder's letter, Monroe wrote Smith giving him recognition as commanding officer in the Baltimore area and informing him, "that General Winder will unite with your forces such of those under his command as may afford the most efficient aid to the protection of Baltimore."<sup>27</sup>

This settled the question as to who was to command at Baltimore and Winder returned to that city on September 4th, but his letters clearly disclose his perplexity as to the part he was to have in the plans for its defense.

In the afternoon of that day he wrote Monroe that Smith had intimated the idea of giving him a brigade "patched up from other Brigadiers who may go away"; but as yet had issued no order and may possibly out of 12,000 or 14,000 men, give him such command as he would be entitled to as senior officer except himself, but as to his views and intentions he was wholly uninformed.

I deem it, [he continued], my duty to give immediate regular notice of my situation to the Government. It is obvious that the idea of my being still commander of the 10th District after your order of the 2nd must be perfectly nominal not only here but every where else and that I may not and cannot be responsible for anything that may occur in any part of it. I again beg leave most respectfully to suggest that these are perilous, alarming and highly critical times even to the very existence of the Government and that the administration must act with the utmost vigor without resort to expediency or compromise, most especially in its military functions. These suggestions spring from the sincerest interest for the welfare of the Country and the most respectful feeling for the Administration and the impression it seems to be gaining some strength upon those points are my apologies for the liberty I have taken.<sup>28</sup>

No reply by Monroe to this letter has been found but Winder's doubts as to the troops to be assigned him were dispelled when on the following day, the brigades of General Douglas and General Singleton, comprising militia from Virginia, were put under his command, together with the 36th and 38th regiments of regu-

<sup>27</sup> Monroe to Smith, September 2. Smith MSS.

<sup>28</sup> Winder MSS.

lars and Laval's cavalry which had been in the engagement at Bladensburg. "General Winder," the order continued, "is charged with the defense on the Ferry Branch. He will on application to the commanding officer of the Navy, be supplied with cannon and ammunition for the redoubts and officers and men to man it."<sup>29</sup>

On the face of it this was an important command, including in its area Forts McHenry, Babcock (also known as the Six Gun Battery) and Covington, occasionally mentioned as Fort Wadsworth—the main defense against an attack on the city from the upper reaches of the Patapsco River—but it offered no prospect of infantry operations and Winder appears to have sensed an intention to remove him to the rear.

An overland attack by the enemy from Washington by way of Ferry Bar was no longer apprehended. He had retired to his shipping in the lower Patuxent and if the city were attacked every prospect favored a joint military and naval operation.

The city's location on the north bank of the Patapsco 12 miles from its mouth, rendered it reasonably certain because of the River's narrow and comparatively shallow channel, that an attack would be directed along the peninsula which extends eastwardly from the city's limits to the Chesapeake Bay, bounded on the north by a body of water known as Back River as it is on the south by the Patapsco.

To meet this threat advantage was taken of a range of hills arising from the north shore of the inner harbor about in line with Fort McHenry extending northerly and approximately parallel with the city's eastern limits.

On these elevations, grouped under the name of Hampstead Hill, was constructed a series of earth works, circumvallations and bastions.<sup>30</sup> As it was in this area that an attack by the British

<sup>29</sup> Winder MSS. The commanding officer of the Navy at Baltimore was Commander John Rodgers.

<sup>30</sup> The location of the works prepared for the defense of Baltimore by its citizens are shown in the so-called "Winder's Map," a handsome copy of which is in the Maryland Historical Society. Those on the eastern limits of the city began at the Sugar House on the Harbor and extended to a location now marked by the intersection of Baltimore Street and Broadway; but Frederick M. Colston says: "There was a detached work west of Broadway and another one on McKim's Hill on the east side of the York Road (now Greenmount Avenue) and just south of the present [Greenmount] Cemetery; and a further one about where Broadway now crosses Gay Street. "Battle of North Point," *Maryland Historical Magazine* II (1907), 113.

was expected, it was where Winder preferred to be and he promptly made known to General Smith his dissatisfaction with his assignment.

After the candor which I have evinced toward you, [he wrote], I cannot for a moment suppose that in the assignment of my command and station, any other motive than a just regard for my rank and other circumstances influenced you—and yet I cannot but believe that in a review of the arrangements you have made, you will be satisfied that it is unjust as relates to my rank and situation and in derogation from the ordinary principles of military service.<sup>31</sup>

With a full sense of military obligation to a superior officer, Winder nevertheless evinced a resolution to comply with Smith's order by taking prompt steps to inform himself of the state and position of his command and to examine the force and positions that required artillery and to give information as to what forces of that arm would be needed.

He established headquarters on High Street, in that part of the city known as Old Town, and in the order announcing it, took occasion to say:

While the most unremitting attention will be paid to the drill, discipline and police of the respective corps comprising the command, the commanding officers will particularly attend to holding the respective commands in a state of readiness for marching at a moments warning and in a most effective state for service.<sup>32</sup>

But Winder immediately ran into a practical difficulty.

Although Forts McHenry, Babcock and Covington were within the limits of his command, the garrisons in them were not enumerated among the troops placed under him. He again wrote Smith, saying "I presume it is necessary only to suggest this circumstance to have it rectified."<sup>33</sup>

He also took occasion to inquire whether any works were ordered or being carried on within the line of defenses under his command and whether any laboring force had been appropriated for such purpose. "If not," he wrote, "I must beg that engineers may be directed to report to me for the purpose of strengthening the defenses as far as practical within the lines committed to me."

<sup>31</sup> Winder to Smith, September 5. Winder MSS.

<sup>32</sup> Winder MSS.

<sup>33</sup> Winder to Smith, September 7. Winder MSS.

Receiving no reply to this communication, three days later he wrote Smith again, saying he had in the meantime visited the forts and out of ninety-three men at Covington, one-half were unfit for duty "from the unhealthiness of the situation"; that the command to which he had been assigned was one of considerable responsibility but destitute of the essential means of enabling him to respond to it.<sup>34</sup>

This letter followed by a visit to Smith's headquarters resulted in an order from the latter dated September 10th that all regulars of every description in Baltimore be placed under Winder's command.<sup>35</sup>

Now Forts Babcock and Covington were garrisoned by men in the naval service under the command of Commodore John Rodgers, a command which was separate from that of General Smith and not subject to his orders.<sup>35a</sup> As a result the only garrison affected by the order placing all regulars under Winder was that in Fort McHenry, and Major George Armistead, who there commanded, now found Winder and not Smith his commanding officer.

While Winder's assignment under Smith was thus being worked into a definite pattern he found his administrative duties as commander of the 10th Military District confused and the territorial limits of his authority undefined.

Smith commanded in Baltimore, Monroe commanded in the District of Columbia and on the banks of the Potomac below that city. Winder therefore, felt it imperative to have his responsibility and authority clarified and with this in view he wrote Monroe as follows:

Every moment evinces more and more the impracticability of the present arrangement of the command of the 10th Military District. Subject as I am to the command of General Smith here, all the force with me is subject to the same command while all the forces in or near the Potomac are subject to your command. This precludes the possibility of my disposing of a man. The little force at Annapolis is all which is not actually included within your command or that of General Smith's. The whole staff of the District is either here or is with you. The quartermaster's

<sup>34</sup> Winder MSS.

<sup>35</sup> Winder MSS.

<sup>35a</sup> Rodgers had been ordered to proceed to Washington from New York with a detachment of officers and men to help in its defense, but when he reached Baltimore Washington had been captured. He remained there and was given an important assignment in its defense.

department especially must be absolutely at the disposal of the commanding general, and since it is impossible that this department can act at the same time under District and independent orders, it follows that I cannot call on it for anything. The commissary of purchase and his deputies are in the same situation as relates to the requisition for supplies but besides this difficulty as relates to these officers, [he continues] it is impossible to conceive that an officer under the command of another, as I am under General Smith, can have the power to issue orders inconsistent with his, or which are not his orders; and yet as commander of the District, according to the idea of the President and yourself, it is supposed I may do so. Besides, General Smith's power, according to the Constitution, is limited to his division and the troops united with them and has no local extent beyond."

He then asks how the expired enlistments are to be dealt with. "Not by Smith," he submits, "since his powers are limited to his Division." Not by himself since his officers to whom orders would be issued, are either under Monroe's command or that of Smith. Men are ready, he points out, to come in from Pennsylvania and although contrary to military order and subordination,

I shall direct them under the present state of affairs, to come to this City. When they arrive they fall under the command of General Smith, or not, as he may deem it proper to order payment of expenses incurred in the march of detachment here. In truth Sir, it is unnecessary to multiply instances since it is impossible to move a step without violating all military rule and practice or making an impossible impasse. The present state of the Country requires that the command should be arranged without delay. No commanding officer can, in the present state of things, be responsible for any result which may happen."<sup>26</sup>

This letter, marked private, brought a frank and conciliatory reply from Monroe in which he explained the difficulties presented in the conflict in the command at Baltimore and the reasons for committing the command to Smith. It is a sort of letter that one friend might expect to receive from another.

"Your letter of yesterday," wrote Monroe, "states the existing derangements in the military command of this District and its injurious tendency and the sentiments you express on the whole subject are just and honorable to you." Reviewing the circumstances under which he became Secretary of War and took over military command of the District of Columbia, of which the reader has been informed, he continues:

<sup>26</sup> Winder to Monroe, September 7. Winder MSS.

On your return I offered to give up the military command in your favor, as I had done before your arrival to the President. He thought, and you concurred with him, that I had better continue to exercise the command for a while, having in your absence adopted certain measures which were in a train of execution. General Smith having been called into service by the Governor of Maryland with the rank of Major General, would not yield to that which had been conferred on you by the President as commander of the District. The question had been submitted by you to the Government and was not decided by General Armstrong; in the meantime General Smith retained the command at Baltimore, against which it was still apprehended that the enemy would move with their whole force by water up the bay. In this state of things, it was thought improper to make any change in the command at Baltimore, lest it might cause some derangement there injurious to the public interest. The command at the White house where Porter was appointed to erect and command a battery, and in support of which two brigades of militia were ordered was offered to you. You preferred returning to Baltimore, in the expectation that it would be attacked, and in the belief that you might render more important services there.

Possessing fully the confidence of the Government, it was wished to place you where you might render most service.

Whether it is proper to maintain the principle, that a Brigadier General, appointed to command a military district, shall take rank of all others in that district, though of a superior rank in the line, of the regular army or militia, is doubtful.— You will admit that there was an evident difficulty, and that some injury might have resulted from it, in the present call, under all the circumstances attending it.

The evils however resulting from the displacement of the commander of a district, who ought to be of the regular army, by the call of a large body of militia into the field, on a sudden emergency, and of a militia General to command them of higher grade than that of the commander of the district are obvious.— The command ought to be committed to a General of the regular army, that he may remain constantly in the discharge of its duties, which will exist while the war lasts.— The duties of the military commander of a District are extensive and various. The selection of proper points for defense, and the erection of works on them, the call for supplies of every kind, the call on the States for militia and the distribution of the force generally, are duties which require the direction and control of a person who may be long in office, and be thereby enabled to reduce the whole into a system. The sudden displacement of such a commander by a General of the Militia, utterly unacquainted with the whole business, equally in the outline and detail, cannot fail to cause derangement and serious injury. The difficulty in the present case is, to make any change at this time especially at Baltimore.

To your resuming the command here and in every other part of the district, there is now no obstacle. My command was intended to be temporary and has ceased; you know from the part which I acted before,

under you, that I could have had but one motive in undertaking it. Should the enemy cease to menace Baltimore, the difficulty to the resumption of your command there, may soon be removed. Such a state of things might replace you, while it lasted in the command of the whole district, but a new incursion of the enemy in force, might and probably would produce the same difficulty.

There appears to be no effectual remedy to this evil, free from objection, but that of placing in the command of the Districts, officers who would take rank of Major Generals of the militia; the evil being applicable to all the districts, the remedy should be co-extensive over them. At this time it cannot be taken up on that scale, if indeed the intervention of Congress will not be necessary for that purpose.

Should the enemy descend the bay, and relieve this quarter from apprehension, the command may undergo some change. Should you be willing to resume the command here and elsewhere with the exception of Baltimore, it is desirable that you repair here, unless you should find some serious objection to it.

I repeat that the President entertains a high respect for your talents and merit, and that he is disposed to evince it, on every suitable occasion.<sup>87</sup>

However gratified General Winder may have been at the tenor of this letter, he felt that Monroe had not considered and answered the main point of his contention. In a rejoinder written on September 9th, also marked "private," he fears he did not state it "with requisite precision."

My object, he wrote, was purely to state the real and possibly fatal embarrassments to which the Service might be reduced from the undefined nature and limits of Command existing in the District and from a belief that some order from the War Department might fix with more precision the Command respectively to be performed by the Major General of Militia and my duties as Commander of the District.<sup>88</sup>

He concluded this letter by directing attention to Annapolis which he still considers within the limits of his command and to the necessity of doing something for its defense.

On the day before North Point was fought Monroe answered this letter, and made it clear that Winder need give himself no concern about Annapolis.

There can be but one Commander, [he wrote], in every quarter for which any particular force is intended. The force at Baltimore being relied on for the protection of that place, Annapolis and all other places in this District on the Bay, being under General Smith, the movement

<sup>87</sup> Monroe to Winder, September 8. Winder MSS.

<sup>88</sup> Winder MSS.

of troops must be under his control. I thought this idea was conveyed in my last. Finding that you do not so understand it, I hasten to correct the mistake and to express my full confidence that you will do everything in your power to promote the success of our arms in defense of our Country.<sup>39</sup>

Enclosed in this letter was a copy of one to General Smith dated September 10th requesting him to look to and provide defense for both Baltimore and Annapolis and any other places in that quarter which may be in danger. "General Winder," he wrote, "who as Commander of the District has made calls for the militia from different quarters, is instructed to cooperate and give you all the aid in his power."

This letter and that to Smith left Winder in no doubt that his command of the 10th District was now titular only. However, any resentment he may have felt appears to have been completely neutralized by his zeal for action in the attack on Baltimore which the British were preparing to deliver. This ambition he had confided to Monroe in the following words: "I am anxious only to acquit myself to the utmost in the present occasion in whatever situation I can, without recognizing the justice of the hasty prejudiced judgments, which may have formed of the late events."<sup>40</sup>

"The late events," of course, mean Bladensburg. He hoped for an opportunity to confuse those who had questioned his military competency by a display of the qualities that had won him recognition on the Niagara frontier.

But he was to be disappointed. In the afternoon of September 11th when the American forces marched from Baltimore to oppose the British in any advance upon the city from the east, they were not under the command of General Winder who, as second in rank to General Smith, was by the rules of seniority clearly entitled to this honor. Smith had given the command to his old companion in arms, John Stricker, an officer with the militia rank of brigadier general, and who, as we have seen, headed the committee that waited on Smith requesting him to take command at Baltimore. Stricker, now in his fifty-sixth year, had a creditable record of service in the Continental Army out of which he came in the grade of captain.

<sup>39</sup> Monroe to Winder, September 11. Winder MSS.

<sup>40</sup> Winder to Monroe, September 9. Winder MSS.

Notwithstanding the defeat of his force by the British at North Point on September 12th, Stricker succeeded in withdrawing his troops without serious loss, and took a position at Worthington Mills beyond the northern limits of Baltimore and east of the Belair Road. Here General Winder with his troops was ordered to join him. When the enemy began his withdrawal on the early morning of the 14th an attempt was made to harass him, but General Smith reported that "all the troops were so worn out with continuous attacking and with being under arms during three days and nights, exposed the greater part of the time to very inclement weather, that it was found impracticable to do anything more than pick up a few stragglers."

Whatever disappointment Winder may have felt in being denied the command of the troops led by Stricker against the British must have been tempered by the results at North Point, where some of the militia proved no more steady than had those at Bladensburg, and by the fact that his services were especially commended by Smith in his General Orders.<sup>42</sup> The abandonment of the attack upon Baltimore by the land and naval forces, carefully planned by the British, brought relief from an anxiety so grave to those burdened with its defense, that no room was left in which jealousies and resentments could blossom. The city had been saved from seizure by the British and there was glory enough for all to have a share.

In none of the reports made by the officers engaged in defending the city is this better displayed than in a Division Order issued by General Winder from his headquarters on New Church Street and signed by Robert G. Hite, Assistant Adjutant General, a member of his staff, in which he praises Major Armistead and the officers and men in Fort McHenry as follows:

The garrison of Fort McHenry, under the command of major Armistead, are entitled to, and receive the warmest acknowledgments and praise from the brigadier-general, for their steady, firm, and intrepid deportment during an almost incessant bombardment for twenty-four hours, during which time they were exposed to an incessant shower of shells.

The militia artillery of the third brigade, under captains Nicholson and Berry, and lieutenant Pennington, vied with the regulars in a firmness and

<sup>42</sup> T. H. Palmer, ed., *Historical Register*, IV, 189.

<sup>43</sup> "To Brigadier-general Winder he [Smith] tenders his thanks for his aid, co-operation and prompt pursuit of the enemy." *Ibid.*, p. 204.

composure which would have honoured veterans, and prove that they were worthy to cooperate with the regular artillery, infantry, and sea-fencibles, in defense of that important post. Major Armistead receives also the warmest acknowledgments of the general commanding, for his able, vigilant, and exact arrangements before and during this period of arduous duty, as well as for the uniform zeal, vigour, and ability he has discovered in his preparations for the defense of the post immediately committed to his charge, as for the prompt and efficacious manner in which he has complied, under great and perplexing difficulties, with demands from all quarters for ammunition.

Lieutenant-colonel Stewart and Major Lane, neither of whom were required to expose themselves in this dangerous post, will please accept the brigadier-general's warmest acknowledgements for the handsome and gallant manner in which they volunteered to take command of the regular infantry; who, with their officers and men, have evinced the most resolute and steady intrepidity in the midst of imminent and long-continued danger.<sup>43</sup>

The menace of renewed attack on Baltimore was relieved by the withdrawal of the British fleet and transports to the lower Chesapeake, whence they shortly passed out to sea, with the exception of a force too small to give concern.

On September 21st Winder was ordered to Washington along with the U. S. troops under his command and the Virginia militia comprising General Douglas' brigade. This move was explained to him in a letter from Monroe written the same day and marked "private and confidential." In this letter Monroe said that an investigation of the events connected with the capture of Washington would probably "be set on foot" and inasmuch as Winder was involved he thought it well for him to be in Washington where he could communicate with his friends and then again to take duty on the Niagara frontier.

Moreover, he said, Major General Winfield Scott had been sent home from the Niagara frontier because of wounds which

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2. That General Winder should have resorted to the expediency of this order indicates that his reluctance to subordinate his command to that of Smith had not been entirely overcome. An exact adherence to military precept would appear to have required a report to his superior officer such as Stricker made to Smith. It also may be noted that Armistead instead of making his report to Winder made one directly to Monroe, Secretary of War. It would be interesting to know if Armistead's apparently unfriendly attitude toward Winder was responsible for what Major General James Wilkinson claimed to be the refusal of the Madison administration to give him the recognition that his services as commanding officer at Fort McHenry called for. It is a fact that he got nothing better than a lieutenant colonelcy by brevet in which rank he died in 1818. See Wilkinson's *Memoirs* (1816), II, 795.

had rendered him incapable of service there, and that he would be ordered to take command of the 10th Military District and thereby relieve the situation created by the combined service of himself and General Smith.<sup>44</sup>

To this Winder replied that in the circumstances he must avoid any appearance of running away and that a command on the Niagara frontier must come to him not as an offer but as an order. On September 22nd the order was issued and upon its receipt Winder before leaving Washington once more wrote Monroe.

I reply [he said], with confidence that this sudden removal to so great a distance from the scene of my late command at a moment likely to produce an investigation into what has passed, will not be permitted to operate disadvantageously to me, and the more especially as it is more than probable the occasion for distinguishing myself where I am going, will be past before my arrival.<sup>45</sup>

In this manner were brought to a close the perplexities, annoyances and disappointments that beset Winder's command of the 10th Military District. It also closed his conflict with General Smith and here we take leave of him.

In so doing it may be said his surmise as to lack of opportunity for distinguishing himself proved to be sound. Shortly after his arrival on the frontier, the troops went into winter quarters and when spring opened, the Treaty of Ghent had been ratified and the War ended.

The assumption of command in this area by Major General Scott likewise terminated that of General Smith, who nevertheless stoutly maintained to the last his conception of the rightful rank of an officer in the militia service vis-à-vis that of an officer of the regular army. In a letter to Governor Winder he said:

General Scott being a Major General by Brevet only in the service of the United States, cannot under my impression of military etiquette, command a commissioned Major General of Militia. This circumstance would at any other period have compelled me to insist on such a construction of the relation or rank of United States and Militia officers, but as the course of conduct might be the cause of great inconvenience and injury to the public good at the present moment, and [being] anxious of preventing such an unpleasant state of things, I have determined to retire from the Militia service.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Winder MSS.

<sup>45</sup> Winder to Monroe, September 22. Winder MSS.

<sup>46</sup> Smith to Governor Winder, Oct. 18. Smith MSS.

As we now take leave of General Smith, a word or two about him may be added. The City of Baltimore recognized the services of Commodore John Rodgers in its defense by presenting him with a handsome silver service and those rendered by Major Armistead by having his portrait painted by Rembrandt Peale and by presenting him with a massive silver punch bowl, a large tray, a ladle and twelve mugs. To Captain John A. Webster for his services two swords were presented, one by the City and one by the State. Apart from the City Council's order for a portrait of him, the services rendered by General Smith as Commander-in-Chief went unrecognized by the City, the State and the Federal Government.<sup>47</sup>

Nor did he escape calumniating accusations. Not only was he criticized for not taking the offensive on Tuesday following the Battle of North Point and attacking Brooks' troops, but he was charged with having sent word to Armistead to surrender Fort McHenry and Cochrane.<sup>48</sup> One hundred years elapsed before the citizens of Baltimore, under the leadership of a progressive mayor, erected his statue and carved on its pedestal the record of his services as Soldier, Statesman and Patriot.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Part of the silver service presented to Rodgers may be seen at the Maryland Historical Society, to which it has been loaned by descendants. There also may be seen the swords presented to Webster. A cut of the pieces presented to Armistead is shown in Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* (New York, 1868), p. 960. They are now in the National Museum, Washington, to which they were presented in 1921 by Armistead's great-grandson, Alexander Gordon, Jr., Esq. The portrait by R. Peale hangs in the Baltimore Municipal Museum.

<sup>48</sup> In a letter to Samuel Smith, his father, Oct. 22, 1814, John Spear Smith states that Gen. Winfield Scott is among those who think Gen. Smith exercised correct judgment in not taking the offensive. As to the surrender of Fort McHenry, see a letter from Smith to Armistead, Nov. 6, 1815, and one from Armistead to Smith, Dec. 7, 1815. All these letters are in the Smith MSS.

<sup>49</sup> This statue on the edge of Wyman Park facing Charles Street is unhappily dwarfed by the spacious setting.

## CIVILIAN DEFENSE IN BALTIMORE, 1814-1815

### MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF VIGILANCE AND SAFETY

Edited by WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Civilian defense is not a recent development in Baltimore. There was a Committee of Safety in Revolutionary times, and the minutes of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety during the War of 1812 indicate a striking resemblance between the activities of that period and those of current date. There were no air-raid wardens, no blood donors, and no USO helpers, but other phases of the work were carried on thoroughly and efficiently.

The membership of the Committee, consisting of three representatives from each of the eight wards and from the adjoining Eastern and Western Precincts, remained at thirty. There was only one change in personnel, occasioned by Elias Ellicott's resignation because of his Quaker views on war and William Jessop's substitution in his place. Of the thirty-one names on the roll, at least sixteen were merchants, and there was a judge, a cabinet-maker, a brickmaker, a butcher, a boatbuilder, and a sea captain. Probably the most distinguished member was Col. John Eager Howard, hero of the Revolution and a former Governor and former United States Senator. Close behind him was Theodorick Bland, soon to acquire the position of Chancellor. Cumberland Dugan, Solomon Etting, Samuel Hollingsworth, William Lorman, William Patterson, and William Wilson—all merchants—were among the leading citizens of Baltimore business and social circles. It is interesting to note that, with a few exceptions, the work of the Committee was performed by the less prominent members.

The Committee met daily for most of the period of its existence. Sometimes there were only routine matters to be considered and

the gatherings could not have lasted more than ten or fifteen minutes. On other occasions, there was considerable business to be transacted, and the sessions were prolonged. When the British approached the City, the Committee met twice a day on September 11th and 13th, 1814; and on September 12th and 14th the members assembled in morning, afternoon, and evening to discuss defense measures.

The similarity between the activities of 1814-15 and those of 1944 is emphasized by a review of the varied phases of the work performed by the Committee of Vigilance and Safety. One of the first steps—strictly in accord with the "vigilance" portion of the title—was the appointment of a subcommittee to investigate cases of persons who expressed sentiments inimical to the American cause or to the defense of Baltimore. Several such persons were cited, arrested, examined, and either placed in confinement or removed from the City. At one point, the Committee issued a warning to citizens to watch their tongues, saying that idle talk and defeatist opinions might hinder the measures to be taken for the protection of the people. Deserters from the enemy were to be confined and examined by another subcommittee, then sent out of town. The watch on the streets was doubled, and, after September 11th, soldiers were ordered to patrol at night.

The biggest problem of defense was the erection of earthworks on the hills to the east and southeast of the City. For this purpose, the entire community was divided into four districts, each of which was to work on the fortifications at specified times in rotation. Superintendents, representing principally the construction trades, were appointed to supervise the actual labor. Men exempt from military service and free people of color were included in the work parties, masters were expected to send their slaves, and other patriotic citizens and visitors from out of town were invited to take part. Tools—wheel barrows, pick axes, spades, and shovels—were ordered to central depositories, and lumber for braces and bomb-proof shelters were requisitioned. On September 5th, the work system was changed somewhat, with one superintendent for each spot to be fortified. The only men who functioned as a unit in the construction of fortifications were thirty carpenters in the employ of Robert Cary Long.

Weapons and provisions were important items on the agenda of the Committee. Guns were ordered to be repaired and fitted

up, and when there was a suggestion of removing some artillery pieces from the City, vigorous and successful protest was raised. A subcommittee was appointed to procure thirty or more scows to be sunk in the channel leading to the wharves, and, later, vessels loaded with light wood were prepared for use as fire ships. Tents and other articles of camp equipage were gathered together, arrangements were made with a baker to supply bread to the soldiers on duty, and, when the time of actual combat arrived, all the food for the fighters was prepared in town and carted out to the lines. The Committee also had in mind the morale of the troops and appropriated six hundred dollars to be spent on music for the regiments of General Stricker's brigade.

Health and housing were two problems common to 1814 and 1944. A subcommittee was directed to inquire into the possibilities for the care of the wounded; it was determined that the public hospital could accommodate 1000 men, and a staff of surgeons under Dr. Colin McKenzie was appointed. The encampments of the troops were watched and nuisances ordered to be removed. Housing for out-of-towners connected with the defense preparations was arranged, and citizens who were forced to remove from the neighborhoods of the fortifications were located in other parts of the City. A Committee of Relief, composed of prominent members of the Society of Friends and representatives of various classes of people, was appointed to raise money and gather necessities for the poor and the destitute.

When the enemy actually appeared in sight, a sort of martial law was established. A curfew on the sale of spirituous liquors was set, and taverns other than those for travellers were ordered to close at nine o'clock. After the repulse of the British at North Point, carriages and hacks were impressed to bring the wounded from the field of battle, and members of the Committee attended to the decent and honorable burial of the "brave fellow citizens" who had fallen.

The minutes of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety, extending from its organization on August 24, 1814, through January 9, 1815, were kept by James Wilson, member from the 4th Ward. The original manuscript, 160 pages long, was given by him to his grandson, James G. Wilson (1831-1904), in 1859, and was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1906 by William Bowly Wilson (1839-1915). The minutes from the beginning

through August 31st have been printed in W. M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815* (Baltimore, 1913), pp. 133-145, but do not appear to have been published in their entirety.

Baltimore 24th August 1814

In conformity to the recomme[n]dation and resolves of a meeting of a number of citizens convened by the Mayor at the Council Chamber on the 23d instant—Meetings were held in the different wards at 10 o'clock yesterday morning, when the following persons were duly elected, in each ward, to form a general Committee of Vigilance and Safety during the present times of alarm—to wit—

1st Ward

Henry Stouffer <sup>1</sup>	}	Elias Ellicott Chairman and Solomon Etting Sect. of the meeting
Solomon Etting <sup>2</sup>		
Elias Ellicott * <sup>3</sup>		

\* Wm. Jessop <sup>4</sup> in E. E.'s place

2d Ward

Samuel Hollingsworth <sup>5</sup>	}	Henry Payson, chairman A. I. Schwartz <sup>6</sup> —Sect.
Benjamin Berry <sup>6</sup>		
Henry Payson <sup>7</sup>		

3d Ward

William Lorman <sup>9</sup>	}	James Calhoun, <sup>12</sup> Chairman John Hollins, <sup>13</sup> Sect.
James A. Buchanan <sup>9</sup>		
William Wilson <sup>11</sup>		

4th Ward

William Patterson <sup>14</sup>	}	Jacob Myers, <sup>17</sup> Chairman Joshua Jones, <sup>18</sup> Sect.
Adam Fonerden <sup>15</sup>		
James Wilson <sup>16</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> Henry Stouffer (d. 1835).

<sup>2</sup> Solomon Etting (1764-1847), merchant, 278 Baltimore St.

<sup>3</sup> Elias Ellicott (d. 1826), flour merchant, Ellicott's Wharf, dwelling 30 Sharp St.

<sup>4</sup> William Jessop (d. 1829), merchant, 95 Bowly's Wharf, dw. 13 Fayette St.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Hollingsworth (1757-1830), merchant, dw. 9 N. Charles St.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Berry, brickmaker, cor. Lee and Sharp Sts.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Payson (1762-1845), merchant, 15 Bowly's Wharf, dw. Hanover St.

<sup>8</sup> A. I. Schwartz, merchant, 71½ Bowly's Wharf.

<sup>9</sup> William Lorman (1764-1841), merchant, dw. New Church [Lexington] cor. N. Charles St.

<sup>10</sup> James A. Buchanan (d. 1840), merchant, Washington Sq. [Monument Sq.]

<sup>11</sup> William Wilson (1750-1824), shipping merchant, 105 Baltimore St.

<sup>12</sup> James Calhoun (1743-1816), 1st Mayor of Baltimore (1797).

<sup>13</sup> John Hollins (d. 1827), merchant, dw. Washington Sq.

<sup>14</sup> William Patterson (1752-1835), merchant, 18 South St.

<sup>15</sup> Adam Fonerden (1750-1817), merchant (dry goods), 54 Baltimore St.

<sup>16</sup> James Wilson (1775-1851), merchant, dw. Holliday St.

<sup>17</sup> Jacob Myers (d. 1822), merchant, 55 Baltimore St., dw. Holliday St.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Jones, woollen draper, 56 Baltimore St.

5th Ward		
Joseph Jamison <sup>19</sup> Cumberland Dugan <sup>20</sup> William Camp <sup>21</sup>	} Cumberland Dugan, Chairman George Franciscus, <sup>22</sup> Sect.	
6th Ward		
James Armstrong <sup>23</sup> James Taylor <sup>24</sup> Peter Bond <sup>25</sup>		} James Taylor, chairman James Wilson, <sup>26</sup> Sect.
7th Ward		
Robert Stewart <sup>27</sup> Frederick Schaffer <sup>28</sup> Richard Stevens <sup>29</sup>	} Robert Stewart, chairman William B. Barney, <sup>30</sup> Sect.	
8th Ward		
Hezekiah Waters <sup>31</sup> David Burke <sup>32</sup> George Woelpert <sup>33</sup>		} Hezekiah Waters, chairman John Snyder, <sup>34</sup> Sect.
Eastern Precincts		
Hermanus Alricks <sup>35</sup> John Kelso <sup>36</sup> Richard Frisby <sup>37</sup>	} Hermanus Alricks, Chairman Richard Frisby, Sect.	
Western Precincts		
Col. John E. Howard <sup>38</sup> George Warner <sup>39</sup> Theodorick Bland <sup>40</sup>		} Emmanuel Kent, <sup>41</sup> Chairman Theodorick Bland, Sect.

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Jamison, 42 N. Frederick St.

<sup>20</sup> Cumberland Dugan (1759-1836), merchant, S. Gay St.

<sup>21</sup> William Camp (1774-1822), cabinetmaker, 26 Water St.

<sup>22</sup> George Franciscus, jeweller and silversmith, 30 Baltimore St.

<sup>23</sup> James Armstrong (d. 1823), merchant, 94 High St.

<sup>24</sup> James Taylor, 14 High St.

<sup>25</sup> Peter Bond (d. 1821), merchant, 9 Bridge [Gay] St.

<sup>26</sup> James Wilson, justice of the peace, 23 Bridge St.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Stewart (d. 1840?), Duke [Granby] St.

<sup>28</sup> Frederick Schaffer—not in directory.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Stevens (d. 1829), sea captain, 107 Bond St.

<sup>30</sup> William B. Barney (1780-1838), Queen St. Son of Com. Joshua Barney.

<sup>31</sup> Hezekiah Waters, merchant, 33 Pitt [Fayette] St.

<sup>32</sup> David Burke, boat builder, 4 George St.

<sup>33</sup> George Woelpert, butcher, 40 George St.

<sup>34</sup> John Snyder (1757-1827), ship chandler, 41 Fells [Thames] St.

<sup>35</sup> Hermanus Alricks (1764-1840).

<sup>36</sup> John Kelso (1767-1850).

<sup>37</sup> Richard Frisby (d. 1845).

<sup>38</sup> John Eager Howard (1752-1827), "Belvidere" estate.

<sup>39</sup> George Warner (1769-1829).

<sup>40</sup> Theodorick Bland (1776-1846), judge of 6th district.

<sup>41</sup> Emanuel Kent, merchant, Paca St. nr. Franklin—had son Emanuel who was a private in Capt. Pennington's Company and lost an arm at North Point.

Baltimore 24th August 1814

At a meeting of the committee of Vigilance & Safety elected from the several wards and each of the Precincts of the city of Baltimore held at the Council Chamber at 5 o'clock P. M. this day in pursuance of Public Notice—When Edward Johnson,<sup>42</sup> Esqr, the Mayor, being called to the Chair, and Theodorick Bland Esqr appointed Secretary—The Mayor in a short address opened to the Committee the general nature and objects of the business proposed to be submitted to their consideration—

On motion Resolved, That Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bland and Mr. Payson be a Committee to prepare an address to the citizens which shall be submitted to this Committee for their approbation at their next meeting—

Resolved, That this Committee meet every day at 10 o'clock A. M. in the Council Chamber—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 25th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—when the proceedings of yesterday were read—

The Committee charged with the drafting of an address to the citizens made a report which was ordered to lie on the table—

The following Resolutions were then moved & adopted

1, Resolved, That all good citizens be and they are hereby requested to give to this committee any information they may have relative to suspected persons or places—and that the members of this Committee be and they are hereby required to appoint such person or persons as they may think proper in each ward or precinct to search suspected persons and places—And the persons so appointed shall report to this Committee any information that may be obtained—

2—Resolved, That the owners of Vessels now moored and made fast at or near the wharves of the city are hereby directed to remove their Vessels immediately to some place below Harris' Creek for the greater security—

3—Resolved That all Deserters from the enemy shall during the present time of alarm be confined to the Goal and Goal yard, where their situation shall be made as comfortable as the nature of things will admit; that any extra expense for that purpose shall be provided for by this committee, and that Mr. Frisby, Mr. Kelso and Mr. Bland be and they are hereby appointed to adjust with the Goaler the amount of such extra expense and to report to this committee—

4th Whereas it has been communicated to this Committee by Brig. Genl. Stricker,<sup>43</sup> Com. Perry,<sup>44</sup> Maj. Armstead<sup>45</sup> and Capt. Spence<sup>46</sup> in person

<sup>42</sup> Edward Johnson (1767-1829), physician, dw. King George [Lombard] St. "near Brown's brewery"—mayor 1808-16.

<sup>43</sup> John Stricker (1758-1825).

<sup>44</sup> Oliver Hazard Perry (1785-1819).

<sup>45</sup> George Armistead (1780-1818). In command at Fort McHenry.

<sup>46</sup> Robert Traill Spence (1785-1826).

that it is their wish that Maj. Genl. Smith be requested to take the Command of the Forces which may be called into service for the defence of the city, therefore—Resolved, That, Col. John E. Howard, Mr. Frisby and Mr. Stewart be appointed to wait on Maj. Genl. Smith and to communicate to him the information this Committee have received, to state that they unanimously concur with the same, and to request that he would at this important crisis take upon himself the command of the Forces that may be called out for the defence of our City—

5—Resolved, That the gentlemen named in the forgoing resolution wait on Maj. Genl. Smith and report his answer to this committee forthwith—

The gentlemen who were so appointed accordingly retired and after a short time reported that Maj. Genl. Smith was at this time willing and would take upon himself the command of the Forces that might be called out for the defence of the City, but that he wished to be sanctioned in so doing by the Executive of this State and that his powers might be extended; whereupon it was

6. Resolved That Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bland & Mr. Frisby be and they are hereby appointed to address a letter to the Governor of this State requesting him to invest Maj. Genl. Smith with powers in every respect commensurate to the present exigency, which shall be forwarded immediately by express; and that they report to this committee at their next meeting—

The committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 26th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met according to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read and the first, second, & fourth Resolutions and the names of this Committee were ordered to be published—(Mr. Bland from the Committee reported that the Goaler had agreed to receive hold & maintain in a comfortable manner any Deserters that might be committed to him for the sum of twenty five cents per day—

On motion it was—Resolved. That four seamen who have presented themselves as deserters from the enemy be placed under the care of a Constable and at the expense of this Committee conveyed beyond the Susquehanna where there shall be given to each out of the funds of this Committee the sum of two dollars—

2—Resolved, That Mr. Daniel Conner <sup>47</sup> be and he is hereby requested to place himself in the service of this Committee for a compensation to be hereafter agreed upon; and that it be his duty, vigilantly to search for all suspected strangers or other persons, and in a discreet exercise of this authority, to report such persons to, or bring them before the mayor—

3. Resolved, That the Mayor be and is hereby authorised and directed to employ an additional watch, to guard the City and precincts, and that the expense be paid out of the funds of the Committee of Vigilance and

<sup>47</sup> Daniel Conner (d. 1822), merchant, 68 Albemarle St.

Safety; and that the city commissioners and the companies of the Eastern and Western Precincts, be requested to aid him in the execution thereof—

4—Whereas in the present exigency, money will be wanted for various purposes, therefore,

Resolved, That the inhabitants of the City and Precincts be and they are hereby invited to contribute thereto by calling at the Mayors Office, who will receive such contributions, and will publish the names of the contributors and the sums by them severally given, to be appropriated to such objects as the committee of vigilance & safety may authorise and direct—

Ordered that the third and fourth of the foregoing Resolutions be published—

Mr. Buchanan from the committee appointed to address a letter to the Governor reported that they had forwarded a letter by express a copy of which was read and approved—

A Letter from the Governor in answer to that which was address[ed] to him from this committee respecting Maj. Genl. Smith's command was received & read—

Baltimore 27th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

On motion the following resolutions were adopted to wit—

Whereas the Commanding officer has requested the aid of the citizens, in the erection of works for the defence of the city, and the Committee of Vigilance and Safety having full confidence in the patriotism of their fellow citizens, have agreed on the following organization for the purpose of complying with the request of the Major General—

The inhabitants of the city and precincts are called on to deposit at the Court House in the third ward, Centre Market in the fifth ward, Riding School, in the seventh ward, Market House Fells Point, and take with them to the place required all wheel barrows, pick axes, spades & shovels that they can procure—

That the city and precincts be divided into four sections the first section to consist of the Eastern precincts and the eighth ward, the second to comprize the 5th 6th and 7th wards, and the third to comprize the 2d. 3d. and 4th wards, and the fourth to comprize the 1st ward and the Western precincts—

That the exempts from militia duty and the free people of colour, of the first district, consisting of the 8th ward and the Eastern Precincts, assemble tomorrow, *Sunday morning*, at 6 o'clock, at Hampstead Hill, with provisions for the day, and that Arthur Mitchell,<sup>48</sup> Daniel Conn,<sup>49</sup> Henry Pennington,<sup>50</sup> John Chalmers,<sup>51</sup> William Starr,<sup>52</sup> Thomas Weary,

<sup>48</sup> Arthur Mitchell, cooper, 93 French [Front] St.

<sup>49</sup> Daniel Conn (d. 1836), carpenter, Aisquith St.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Pennington (d. 1825), inspector of lime, 74 Green St.

<sup>51</sup> John Chalmers (d. 1817).

<sup>52</sup> William Starr (d. 1819).

Henry Harwood, and Philip Cunmiller, be charged with the superintendence during the day—

That the second District, comprising the 5th, 6th, and 7th wards assemble at Myers Garden on *Monday* morning under the superintendence of William Parks,<sup>53</sup> Capt Watts,<sup>54</sup> Ludwick Herring,<sup>55</sup> William Ross,<sup>56</sup> William Carman,<sup>57</sup> Daniel Howland,<sup>58</sup> Caleb Ernest, and James Hutton<sup>59</sup>—

That those of the third district, comprising the 2d. 3d. and 4th wards assemble at Washington Square on *Tuesday morning*, under the superintendence of Frederick Leypold,<sup>60</sup> William McClary,<sup>61</sup> John McKim junr.<sup>62</sup> Henry Schroeder<sup>63</sup> Alexander McDonald,<sup>64</sup> Eli Hewitt,<sup>65</sup> Peter Gold<sup>66</sup> and Alexander Russell<sup>67</sup>—

That those of the fourth district comprising the 1st ward and the Western precincts, assemble at the intersection of Eutaw and Market Streets on *Wednesday* under the superintendence of William W. Taylor,<sup>68</sup> William Jessup, Edward Harris,<sup>69</sup> George Decker,<sup>70</sup> William Hawkins,<sup>71</sup> Isaac Phillips,<sup>72</sup> William Jones and John Hignet<sup>73</sup>—

The owners of slaves are requested to send them to work on the days assigned in the several districts—

Such of our patriotic fellow citizens of the country or elsewhere, as are disposed to aid in the common defence are invited to partake in the duties now required, on such days as may be most convenient to them—

Ordered, That the foregoing Resolution be published—

Ordered, That John Kelso, George Woelpert, Robert Stewart, Peter Bond, William Camp, Adam Fonerden, William Lorman, Benjamin Berry, Henry Stouffer, and George Warner members of this Committee be and they are hereby requested to give notice to the persons appointed to carry into effect the foregoing Resolution in the several districts and to aid them with their advice and assistance—

<sup>53</sup> William Parks (d. 1823).

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Watts, sea captain, Wolf nr. Milk St.

<sup>55</sup> Ludwig Herring (d. 1817), lumber merchant, 17 McElderry's Wharf, dw. 78 Albemarle St.

<sup>56</sup> William Ross (1760-1820), merchant, 7 Baltimore St. (cor. Market Space).

<sup>57</sup> William Carman, slate manufacturer, High St.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Howland, merchant, dw. 22 N. Frederick St.

<sup>59</sup> James Hutton (d. 1838), grocer, 24 Baltimore St.

<sup>60</sup> Frederick Leypold (1771-1821), grocer, 61 N. Gay St.

<sup>61</sup> William McCleary, bootmaker, 35 South St.

<sup>62</sup> John McKim, Jr. (1767-1842), merchant, 108 Baltimore St.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Schroeder (1764-1839), merchant, 167 Baltimore St., dw. 54 N. Charles St.

<sup>64</sup> Alexander McDonald (1752-1832), grocer, cor. Ann and Alisanna Sts.

<sup>65</sup> Eli Hewitt, tobacconist, 232 Baltimore St.

<sup>66</sup> Peter Gold (1793-1847), sea captain, 17 S. Charles St.

<sup>67</sup> Alexander Russell, brickmaker, Lee nr. Goodman St.

<sup>68</sup> William W. Taylor (d. 1832), merchant, 266 Baltimore St., dw. Eutaw St.

<sup>69</sup> Edward Harris (d. 1837), physician, 280 Baltimore St.

<sup>70</sup> George Decker (1764-1846), merchant, 24 N. Howard St.

<sup>71</sup> William Hawkins (1754-1818).

<sup>72</sup> Isaac Phillips, merchant, cor. Paca and Fayette Sts., dw. N. Howard St.

<sup>73</sup> John Hignet (d. 1822), brickmaker, Washington St.

Ordered, That Adam Fonerden, James Wilson and James Armstrong be and they are hereby appointed as a standing Committee of Accounts—  
The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 28th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

The committee were informed by a letter from Elias Ellicott that, as his religious principles, (to wit, those of a quaker) would not permit him to interfere in military affairs, he therefore resigned his station as a member of this committee—

On motion Resolved, That this committee will fill up all vacancies occasioned in its own body by resignation or otherwise—

Resolved, That Mr. William Jessup be and he is hereby appointed a member of this committee to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Elias Ellicott—

Resolved, That, Mr. Etting, Mr. Taylor and Capt. Stevens be and they are hereby appointed to provide a Hospital or suitable accommodation for the sick and wounded of the Forces that are or may be called out for the defence of the City and to report to this committee at their next meeting—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 29th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
the proceedings of yesterday were read—

On motion Resolved, That Samuel Hollingsworth, Adam Fonerden, Cumberland Dugan, and Joseph Jamison or any three of them with the Mayor be and they are hereby appointed to examine all deserters from the enemy that may be apprehended and brought before them and to report to this committee—

The members appointed to provide quarters for the sick and wounded made report that they had obtained the use of the public Hospital <sup>74</sup> from Doctors McKenzie & Smythe in which there were accommodations for about one thousand—and that the compensation for the same was to be such as this committee should here after deem reasonable—

Mr. Jessup who was appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Ellicott appeared and took his seat as a member—

Resolved, That it be and is hereby most earnestly recommended to the good people of the State of Maryland to be extremely circumspect in their communications respecting the movements of the Enemy and our preparations and disposition to resist him—In a particular manner they are exhorted to abstain from the expression of any opinions calculated to inspire a belief that the people of Baltimore will be found wanting in

<sup>74</sup> The Maryland Hospital, begun on the present site of the Johns Hopkins Hospital in 1798, was constructed with the aid of funds appropriated by the State Legislature. In 1808 it was leased to Drs. McKenzie and Smyth for 15 years.

what is due to themselves—The Committee are urged to this measure by perceiving as they do, with indignation that, Letters, degrading to our character have appeared in some of the distant papers; the writers and publishers of such must be alike objects of contempt to all who have any attachment for their country—

Ordered, That the foregoing Resolution be published immediately—

Resolved, That Mr. Payson, Mr. Lorman, & Mr. Jas. Wilson be and they are hereby appointed to wait on Maj. Genl. Smith and inform him that from the zeal manifested by our fellow citizens in the erection of works of defence as directed, they feel great pleasure in assuring him that, if he should deem it necessary to order the extension of those or the erection of other works, that they will be promptly undertaken—and that they be further instructed to inform the Major General that in whatever way the services of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety can be useful in providing for the comforts of their patriotic fellow Citizens in Arms, they will cheerfully undertake the same—and that they report to this Committee at their next meeting—

Baltimore 30th August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read—

On motion Resolved, That the Resolution passed by this Committee on the 25th of this month relative to deserters from the Enemy be and the same is hereby repealed—

Resolved, That George Warner, Solomon Etting, William Jessup, David Burke and George Woelper be and they are hereby appointed a committee to wait on the Quarter Master General and tender to him their aid and that of this Committee in providing suitable accommodations for our fellow citizens in arms, who are assembling for the common defence—

Resolved, That, it be the particular and permanent duty of the above named committee, diligently to inquire into the wants of the Troops on their arrival and that they make known the same from time to time to this Committee and to those authorities in the staff department who are competent to supplying the same—

Whereas the Committee of Vigilance and Safety have received information from a respectable source that certain individuals are in the constant habit of making use of very improper and intemperate expressions, calculated to produce discussion, and to defeat the preparations making for the defence of our City—therefore—

Resolved, That Richard Frisby, William Camp and Peter Bond be and they are hereby appointed to investigate cases of this kind and make an immediate report to this board—

On motion the following address and appeal to our fellow citizens of the Country was adopted—to wit—

The ardour with which our fellow citizens in arms of this and the neighbouring states are hastening to the defence of our City affords the strongest evidence of the patriotism of our yeomanry and inspires this

committee with an earnest desire to make their situation here perfectly comfortable—The Committee reposes unlimited confidence in the disposition of the good people in this and the neighbouring states who are not employed in a military capacity to aid in this laudable purpose and they therefore confidently call upon them individually and collectively to bring to the city *for sale* such supplies as may contribute to the comfort of those to whom, under Providence, the safety of this City is confined—The Committee are authorised by the Major General to assure those who visit our City with the laudable intention of contributing to the comforts of its brave defenders that they shall be permitted to transact their business free from the danger of impressment to their waggons carts or Horses or of any species of interruption to themselves, and that if there be any cause of complaint the same shall be promptly removed on application to this committee—

Editors of news papers are requested to give this publicity—

Ordered That the foregoing address be published immediately, printed in handbills and disseminated as widely as possible—

Whereas the commanding officer has requested the *further* aid of the citizens in completing the works already so far advanced; and in erecting others for the defence of the city; and the Committee of Vigilance and Safety having full confidence in the patriotism of their fellow citizens—therefore—

Resolved, That the city and precincts, be divided into four districts, and that the exempts from militia duty and the free people of color, of the first district consisting of the 8th ward and Eastern precincts, be and they are hereby requested to assemble on Thursday next, and that Arthur Mitchell, Daniel Conn, Henry Pennington, John Chalmers, William Starr, Thomas Weary, Henry Harwood, Philip Cunmiller, John Price,<sup>75</sup> Basil Smith,<sup>76</sup> John Gracy,<sup>77</sup> John Schunck, John Smith,<sup>78</sup> and Calvin Cooper,<sup>79</sup> be charged with the superintendence during the day —

That those of the second district, comprising the 5th, 6th and 7th wards, assemble on Friday next, under the superintendence of William Parks, Capt. Watts, Ludwick Herring, William Ross, William Carman, Caleb Arnest, Jacob Miller,<sup>80</sup> Robert Fisher,<sup>81</sup> John Gross,<sup>82</sup> James Hutton and George Auckerman —

That those of the third district comprising the 2d. 3d. and 4th wards assemble on Saturday next, under the superintendence of Frederick Leybold, William McClary, John McKim junr., Henry Schroeder, Alexander McDonald, Edi Hewitt, Peter Gold, and Alexander Russell—, and—

<sup>75</sup> John Price, ship carpenter, 17 Pitt St.

<sup>76</sup> Basil Smith, ship carpenter, Pitt St.

<sup>77</sup> John Gracey, carpenter, Aisquith St.

<sup>78</sup> John Smith, cordwainer, Pitt St. ext. nr. Hampstead Hill.

<sup>79</sup> Calvin Cooper, grocer, 57 Bond St.

<sup>80</sup> Jacob Miller, tanner, Jones St.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Fisher (1762-1824), lumber merchant, Spear's Wharf, dw. 46 Jones St.

<sup>82</sup> John Gross (d. 1840), grocer, Bridge St.

That those of the fourth district, comprising the first ward and western precincts, assemble on Sunday next, under the superintendence of William W. Taylor, William Jessup, Edward Harris, George Decker, William Hawkins, Isaac Philips, William Jones, John Hignet, Charles Bohn,<sup>83</sup> Alexander Irvine,<sup>84</sup> Ferdinando Gourdon,<sup>85</sup> and Jonas Clapham<sup>86</sup>—

That John Kelso, George Woelpert, Robert Stewart, Peter Bond, William Camp, Adam Fonerden, William Lorman, Benjamin Berry, Henry Stouffer, and George Warner, members of this committee be and they are hereby requested to give notice, to the persons appointed as superintendants in their several districts, and to aid them with their advice and assistance

The owners of slaves are requested to send them to work, on the days assigned to the several districts; and such of our patriotic fellow citizens of the country, or elsewhere as are disposed to aid in the common defence, are invited to partake in the further duties now required on such days as may be most convenient—

The committee then adjourned

Baltimore 31st August 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. Warner from the Committee appointed to wait on the Quarter Master General reported that they had done so and acquainted him with the readiness of this committee to cooperate in any way for the common good—

Mr. Hollingsworth from the committee appointed to examine Deserters from the Enemy reported, that, they had examined three, of whom they entertained no apprehensions but submitted to this committee for their consideration the propriety of sending such persons, at least some distance into the Country—

Resolved, That the chairman of this committee be and he is hereby authorised and requested to give to each of the abovementioned deserters five dollars from the funds of this committee, a passport, and order them to go out of the State of Maryland—

Ordered, That the Letter from the Major General to this Committee respecting a deposit in the Banks on loan be and the same is hereby referred to Mr. William Willson Mr. Waters and Mr. Payson with power and a request to communicate with the other Presidents and Directors of Banks and to report to this committee at its next meeting

This Committee were informed by their chairman that Mr. Robert C. Long<sup>87</sup> with thirty carpenters in his employ had tendered their services to this committee whenever called on and in whatever manner they might be required—

<sup>83</sup> Charles Bohn, merchant, 262 Baltimore St.

<sup>84</sup> Alexander Irvine (d. 1821), merchant, 21 N. Howard St.

<sup>85</sup> Ferdinand Gourdon (d. 1834), merchant, 3 Sharp St.

<sup>86</sup> Jonas Clapham (d. 1837)

<sup>87</sup> Robert Cary Long (1770-1833), carpenter, Conawago [Lexington] St.

Whereas the duties imposed on this committee, engrossing much of their attention, and it being necessary that immediate steps be taken to raise a *Committee of Relief* whose duty it shall be, to solicit subscriptions in money & necessaries for the relief of the poor and distressed, more particularly to be applied to the aid and support of families, whose distress is immediately occasioned, by the calling of the chief supporters of their families, on public service: therefore—

Resolved, That James Ellicott,<sup>88</sup> William W. Taylor, Elisha Tyson,<sup>89</sup> Richard H. Jones,<sup>90</sup> Levin Wethered,<sup>91</sup> Luke Tiernan,<sup>92</sup> William Riley,<sup>93</sup> James Mosher,<sup>94</sup> Joseph Townsend,<sup>95</sup> Peter Diffenderffer,<sup>96</sup> William Brown,<sup>97</sup> Daniel Diffenderffer,<sup>98</sup> William Trimble,<sup>99</sup> William Mundle,<sup>100</sup> William Proctor,<sup>101</sup> and John Ogsden,<sup>102</sup> be and they are hereby appointed a *Committee of Relief* requiring them in such manner as they shall think proper to adopt, to solicit subscriptions in money or other necessary supplies for the poor, and that they appoint a committee or committees, to ascertain by the best possible means, the situation and wants of the families of those called out on the present emergency, as well as all others who may probably need assistance, and that they distribute from time to time, with judicious care, such aid & comforts as they shall think proper—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 1st September 1814

The Committee of vigilance and safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Ordered, That the Letter from the Surgeons of the different Regiments attached to the command of Genl. Stansburys brigade be and the same is hereby referred to the committee appointed to aid the Quarter Master General, to act upon and report to this committee—

Whereas it is presumed that additional buildings for the accommodation of the Troops will be required and it having been signified to this committee by Maj. Genl. Smith as his wish that temporary Shed-Barracks in convenient situations be erected—therefore—

Resolved, That, Robert C. Long with the patriotic company of Carpenters in his employ, who are exempt from military duty and who have

<sup>88</sup> James Ellicott (d. 1820).

<sup>89</sup> Elisha Tyson (1749-1824), 45 Sharp St.

<sup>90</sup> Richard H. Jones, currier, 8 Cheapside, dw. 76 Pratt St.

<sup>91</sup> Lewin Wethered (1778-1863), merchant, 155 Baltimore St., dw. Sharp St.

<sup>92</sup> Luke Tiernan (1757-1839).

<sup>93</sup> William Riley (d. 1825), bootmaker, East St.

<sup>94</sup> James Mosher (d. 1845), pres. Mechanic's Bank, New Church nr. Calvert St.

<sup>95</sup> Joseph Townsend (1756-1841).

<sup>96</sup> Peter Diffenderffer (d. 1842), hardware merchant, 28 Baltimore St.

<sup>97</sup> William Brown (d. 1828).

<sup>98</sup> Daniel Diffenderffer (d. 1819), 34 Great York [East Baltimore St.].

<sup>99</sup> William Trimble (d. 1819), Granby St.

<sup>100</sup> William Mundell, grocer, Fleet St. [Canton Ave.]

<sup>101</sup> William Proctor (d. 1860), merchant, 10 Fells St.

<sup>102</sup> John Ogsden (1770-1834).

offered their services, or any others exempt from military duty, willing to be so employed, be immediately requested to erect the same under the superintendence of the committee appointed to aid the Quarter Master General in the discharge of his duties—and that Robert C. Long be furnished with a Copy of this Resolution and the names of the Committee—

The committee to whom was referred an enquiry into the conduct of Joseph Presbury<sup>108</sup> a Justice of the Peace of Fells Point, beg leave to report that, they have examined several respectable witnesses upon this subject and are perfectly satisfied from the testimony produced, that, the conduct of the said Presbury is highly censurable, and that he is frequently in the habit of expressing sentiments unworthy of an American citizen—That he has on a very recent occasion rejoiced at the difficulties and embarrassments into which he expected our Government would in all probability be thrown, and manifested pleasure at the powerful reinforcements which the Enemy were pouring into our Country—Your Committee further beg leave to represent that, the general character of the said Presbury appears to be marked with strongest impropriety, that, it has a tendency as far as his influence may extend, to damp the ardour of our patriotic citizens in defence of our City, and is highly derogatory to an officer holding a commission from the State of Maryland—Your Committee consider it as one of those cases which calls for the interposition of your Board, but leave it to your wisdom and judgment to mark out a proper course to be pursued—all which is respectfully submitted—Richard Frisby Chairman—

Ordered That, a Copy of the foregoing Report be transmitted to the Governor of this State and that he be respectfully requested to take the same into consideration and to remove the said Presbury from the office of Justice of the Peace

Whereas this Committee are informed by a letter of this date from Maj. Genl. Smith that "orders have been received from the war department to send off the 19 pounders on travelling carriages"—and as the Guns are the property of the United States and the carriages the property of the city of Baltimore—and as the Committee are of opinion that those Guns are indispensably necessary for the protection of this city—therefore—

Resolved That the Major General be and he is hereby requested to retain the Gun Carriages as the property of the City as long as they may be, by him deemed useful, and also that, he remonstrate against and do all he can to prevent the removal of Guns which are believed to be so important to our defence—

Mr. Payson from the Committee to whom was referred Maj. Genl. Smiths Letter requiring the Banks to place at the disposal of the Quarter Masters and Commissary's department a sum of money as mentioned in that communication, Reports That, the Banks of this city have accorded therewith, and that the money will forthwith be placed as required—

<sup>108</sup> Joseph Presbury, justice of the peace, 661-2 Bond St., dw. 19 Wilke St. [Eastern Ave.]

Resolved, That Mr. Stouffer and Mr. Bond be and they are hereby requested to have the nuisance immediately removed from the Circus, which is at present occupied by our Troops, and any expense in doing the same shall be defrayed out of the funds of this Committee—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 2d. September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. Burke from the committee to whom was referred the Letter from the surgeons attached to Genl. Stansburys Brigade respecting certain conveniences for the army made report that upon enquiry the conveniences asked for were unnecessary and therefore they had not provided them: which report was received and concurred with—

Resolved That the Committee of Superintendants be and they are hereby directed to detail from the workmen of the third District tomorrow morning two hundred men, to be employed under the direction of Capt. Babcock and that on the following day the same number of men be detached from the fourth District and that the same plan be followed by the Districts in rotation—

Resolved, That the inhabitants of the 2d. 3d and 4th Wards in performing their tour of duty tomorrow, *Saturday*, are requested to assemble at the Court House, *Tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock*, as two hundred of them will be wanted to commence works of defence on Camp-look-out-Hill, near the Magazine under the direction of Capt. Babcock, and the remainder to progress with the works already commenced—and that the inhabitants of the 1st Ward and western Precincts will assemble for the same purpose at the intersection of Market and Eutaw streets, on *Sunday morning at 6 o'clock*—

Ordered That the foregoing Resolution be published for the information of the citizens forthwith—

Ordered, That so much of the Letter from the Major General as relates to Hospital surgeons be and the same is hereby referred to the Committee heretofore appointed to procure a Hospital for the sick, and that they comply as soon as possible with the request respecting Hospital surgeons and report to this committee—

Whereas it has been represented to this committee that the Regimental funds of the Baltimore Brigade have proved inadequate to supplying the same with music, and further that some of the commandants of Regiments have in part supplied such deficiency out of their private funds—therefore

Resolved, That one hundred dollars be paid out of the funds of this committee to each of the paymasters of the six Regiments composing Genl. Strickers Brigade to be applied in payment of music and that Genl. Stricker be furnished with a Copy of this Resolution—

Resolved, That, Mr. Burke, Mr. Stevens and Mr. Bond be and they are hereby authorised to fit up and prepare for service the Guns now under

the care of Mr. Beatty,<sup>104</sup> or any others, that may be deemed useful by the commanding officer, and that the expense thereof be defrayed out of the funds of this Committee—

Resolved, That Mr. Dugan, Mr. Berry and Mr. Alrecks be and they are hereby appointed to aid Mr. Brawner in converting the Flour and bread for the use of the Troops—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 3d. September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. Dugan from the Committee appointed to aid in having the Flour baked into bread for the use of the Troops reported, That they had entered into a written contract with Francis W. Bolgiano<sup>105</sup> to bake bread for the use of this committee which was received, ratified, and ordered to be filed—

The Committee to whom was referred the requisition of Major Genl. Smith for six Hospital surgeons to attend on the sick and at the Hospital beg leave to report, That in consequence of the authority vested in them by the Committee of Vigilance and Safety they have appointed Doctor Colin McKenzie<sup>106</sup> Hospital surgeon and authorised him to appoint Doctors James Middleton,<sup>107</sup> Horatio Jameson,<sup>108</sup> William Turner, George Frick<sup>109</sup> and Charles Richardson assistants, who will be called into the Hospital as Doctor McKenzie may find their services necessary—They also beg leave to report that, when they visited the Hospital, they were informed by Mr. Gatchell<sup>110</sup> that he had received orders to procure groceries and medicines, but that some other articles would probably be required for the comfort of the sick, which your committee directed him to procure until an arrangement could be made to obtain them in a regular way, the appointments now made it is presumed will remove this difficulty—

Which Report was read and concurred with—

Resolved, That Mr. Stewart, Mr. Waters and Mr. Schaffer be and they are hereby appointed to have a bridge of scows from Pattersons Wharf, Fells Point, to the nearest land on the opposite shore, erected immediately, in the manner directed & requested by the Major General in his communication of this date and to report to this committee—

Whereas, The Commander has required still further aid from the citizens in completing the works of defence already begun and in erecting

<sup>104</sup> James Beatty (1770-1851), merchant and navy agent, McClure's Wharf.

<sup>105</sup> Francis W. Bolgiano (d. 1832), baker, 69 S. Frederick St.

<sup>106</sup> Colin McKenzie (1775-1827).

<sup>107</sup> James Middleton (d. 1818), physician, 12 N. Gay St.

<sup>108</sup> Horatio Gates Jameson (1778-1865), druggist, 16 N. Howard St. Later founder of the Washington Medical College and consulting physician to the Board of Health.

<sup>109</sup> George Frick (1793-1870).

<sup>110</sup> Jeremiah Gatchell (d. 1822), steward of Baltimore Hospital.

others, and it being highly desirable to expedite such works by every possible means, and the Committee of Vigilance and Safety feeling an entire and undiminished confidence in their fellow citizens; therefore—

Resolved, That the City shall hereafter be laid off and divided into two Districts; the first of which shall comprise all that part of the City together with the Eastern Precincts, East of Jones' Falls, and all the residue of the City with the western precincts shall compose the second District—

That all exempts, people of colour and others, able and willing to labour, of each District be, and they are hereby most earnestly invited and requested to turn out and labour on the works of Defence in their respective Districts on *Monday* next and every day thereafter they can find it convenient—

That Arthur Mitchell, Daniel Conn, Henry Pennington, John Chalmers, William Starr, Thomas Weary, Henry Harwood, Philip Cunmiller, John Price, Bazel Smith, John Gracy, John Schunck, John Smith, William Parks, Capt. Watts, Ludwick Herring, William Carman, Jacob Miller, Robert Fisher, John Gross, George Auckerman, John Mackenheimer,<sup>111</sup> Mr. Moran, Robert Wilson,<sup>112</sup> and Hezekiah Price<sup>113</sup> be and they are hereby appointed a committee of superintendence for the first or Eastern District—

That William Ross, Caleb Arnest, James Hutton, Frederick Leypold, William McClary, John McKim junr., Henry Schroeder, Alexander McDonald, Eli Hewitt, Peter Gold, Alexander Russell, William W. Taylor, Edward Harris, George Decker, William Hawkins, Isaac Philips, William Jones, John Hignet, Charles Bohn, Alexander Irvine, Ferdinand Gourdon, and Jonas Clopham, be and they are hereby appointed a committee of superintendants, for the second or Western District—

That each of those committees make such division of themselves, into sub-committees, appoint deputies, and make such arrangements as will best suit their own convenience, and ensure a faithful discharge of their duty—

That Richard Frisby, George Woelper, John Kelso, George Warner, Henry Stouffer and Adam Fonerden, members of this Committee be, and they are hereby requested to give notice to the persons appointed as superintendants in their several Districts, and to aid them with their advice and assistance—

The owners of slaves are requested to send them to work in the Districts in which they reside, and such of our patriotic fellow citizens of the country or elsewhere, as are disposed to aid in the common defence, are invited to partake in the further duties now required, at such times as may be most convenient—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 4th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

<sup>111</sup> John Mackenheimer (1754-1823), 42 Bridge St.

<sup>112</sup> Robert Wilson (1771-1844), cashier, Bank of Maryland, 15 South St.

<sup>113</sup> Hezekiah Price, lumber merchant, 58 Bridge St.

Resolved, That Mr. Stouffer, Mr. Berry & Mr. Jessup be, and they are hereby appointed to procure Palisades for the Fortifications now erecting on Camp-look-out Hill at the most convenient place and in the most expeditious way possible—[This entire paragraph was x-ed out, and the word "Error" inserted in the margin.]

Resolved, That the members of this Committee appointed to aid the superintendants be and they are hereby requested to confer with Capt. Babcock, the Engineer, as to the number of labourers and implements that may be wanted from day to day to carry on & complete the works of Defence, and that they be and are hereby authorised to provide the same—

Ordered, That the communication from the surgeons of the Third Brigade of Maryland Militia lie on the Table—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 24th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceeding of yesterday were read—

Major DeFourville, an Engineer, who had hitherto aided in erecting works of Defence, on being introduced to the Committee tendered his services gratis to the citizens directing the erection of works proper for its defence, and also submitted some observations respecting the works already begun and others which were deemed necessary and proper—

Mr. Fonerden from the committee who were appointed to confer with Capt. Babcock: Reported that he had done so, that Capt. Babcock required two hundred hands on this day and would inform the committee of the number wanted from day to day and further that Capt. Babcock wanted a Horse to enable him to attend to his duties—therefore—

Ordered That Capt. Babcock be furnished with a Horse—

Resolved, That George Woelper be and he is hereby appointed a superintendant whose duty it shall be to hire one hundred labourers to be employed in raising breast works on the Road towards North Point for one week, as required by the communication of the Major General of this date and that said superintendant be authorised to hire said labourers on the best terms in his Power and to furnish them with Provisions and other necessities and to furnish an account thereof to this Committee—

Resolved, That a Superintendent be appointed whose duty it shall be to employ labourers not exceeding one hundred and fifty per day to work at the Fort erecting at Camp-look-out; and that said superintendant is hereby authorised to pay to each labourer not exceeding one dollar per day, they finding their own provisions and liquor; and that he be also directed to employ as many Carpenters and Mechanics as the Engineer may judge advisable, whose wages shall not exceed one dollar and twenty five cents per day; and that said labourers, carpenters and other mechanics be continued until the works are completed; and an account thereof be rendered to this Committee: and that Isaac Phillips be & he is hereby appointed a superintendant to carry on the above-mentioned work under the direction of the Engineer—

Resolved, That a superintendant be appointed whose duty it shall be to employ labourers, not exceeding one hundred per day to work at the Fortifications erecting or about to be erected at the eastern end of the Town, and that said superintendant is hereby authorised to pay each labourer so employed a sum not exceeding one dollar per day, and to employ as many Carpenters and other mechanics as Major Armstead may deem adviseable, whose wages shall not exceed one dollar and twenty five cents per day, the said labourers and mechanics to accommodate themselves with victuals and drink; and that the said labourers Carpenters and other Mechanics be continued until the works are completed; and an account thereof be rendered to this Committee—

Resolved, That George Auckerman be the superintendant to carry into effect the foregoing Resolution—

Ordered, That the Major General be furnished with a Copy of so much of the report of the committee of the 3d. instant respecting the Hospital, as relates to the appointment of six Hospital Surgeons—

Ordered, That Mr. Fonerden be excused from further attendance as a member of this Committee to aid the superintendants, and that Mr. Jessup be & is hereby appointed in his stead—

The Committee then adjourned. [Inserted here is a slip, in another hand, reading: "The Requisition for Thirty Scows Was made on the fifth Day of September 1814 and Continued in Service untill thirtieth November in said year Comprising a period of Eighty Six Days."]

Baltimore 6th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—the proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That Mr. Jamison and Mr. Burke be and they are hereby requested to superintend the purchase and delivery of Lumber for the use of the Fortification: and to investigate the quality of that which has already been delivered—

Whereas in compliance with the requisition of the commanding officer, the Committee of vigilance & safety have supplied Capt. Babcock with labour to be employed in works on Camp-look-out Hill but they are apprehensive that Capt. Babcock contemplates Fortification more complete, more costly, and requiring more time than the present exigency and the means of this committee will justify—therefore—

Resolved, That, the commanding officer be requested to give such instruction to the Engineer, as well procure for the western section of the city such temporary works as the time allowed us, the use to be made of the private property on which they are to be erected and the very limited means of this committee will justify—

Ordered, That Mr. Buchanan & Mr. Payson wait on the Major General with a Copy of the foregoing Resolution and confer with him respecting the nature of the works of defence contemplated and report immediately—

Mr. Buchanan from the committee appointed to wait on the Major General Reported that they had done so, and that they were informed by

the Commanding Officer that the works intended to be erected would be of such a temporary nature and such limited extent as the present exigency would admit of and no more—and that the expence would be met by the United States—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 7th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That so much of the Resolution of this Committee passed on the fifth instant as relates to the wages to be paid to the labourers and the number thereof, that may be hired to work on the Fortifications erecting on Camp look out Hill be and the same is hereby repealed and the superintendant is hereby authorised to hire such number of labourers and upon such terms as he shall think best—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 8th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That, the Committee of Accounts be and they are hereby authorised to advance to Mr. James Beatty any sum of money that he may want for the purpose of fitting-up and repairing Guns and Gun Carriages, not exceeding three thousand dollars—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 9th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding fifty dollars be paid out of the funds of this Committee to the Paymaster of the Rifle Battalion to be applied to the payment for music—

A communication was received from the *Committee of Relief*, requesting that, the contributions in provisions subscribed to this Committee should be transferred to the *Committee of Relief* to be by them disbursed among the poor and needy—which was read and ordered to lie on the table—

Mr. Frisby from the committee who were appointed to investigate cases of individuals who may be accused of being "in the constant habit of making use of very improper and intemperate expressions calculated to produce disunion, and to defeat the preparations making for the defence of our City"—made report of sundry improper & intemperate expressions of a certain Richard Lewis <sup>114</sup> of Pratt Street, which was read and ordered to lie on the table—

Resolved That the chairman of this Committee be and he is hereby authorised to pay the sum of twenty five dollars to Edward Miles for his

<sup>114</sup> Richard Lewis, Pratt nr. Hanover St.

trouble in assisting and bringing home Charles Ernest a Soldier who was wounded in the battle of Bladensburg—<sup>115</sup>

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 10th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. Frisby from the committee who were appointed to investigate cases of individuals who may be accused of being in the constant habit of making use of very intemperate and improper expressions calculated to produce disunion and to defeat the preparations making for the defence of our City—made Report of sundry improper expressions and suspicious conduct of a certain Lewis Briers an alien enemy resident here by permission—whereupon

Ordered That the chairman of this committee be and he is hereby authorised and requested to have the said Lewis Briers immediately arrested and strictly examined and committed to prison if the chairman shall think proper—

The following address was moved and assented to

"Those who feel interested in the safety of Baltimore and who have omitted to subscribe to the fund which is placed at the disposal of this committee, are respectfully reminded that the subscription paper is still open at the Mayors office, that the expenses to be defrayed by the committee are unavoidably large and are for objects deemed by the Military authorities indispensable to our safety—

"The committee acknowledge with thanks the liberality of those who have contributed so freely to this important fund, but they deem it their duty to state that, although the subscriptions have been liberal, yet that, from estimates it is apprehended they will be inadequate to our wants and that, the subscription list comprises only about five hundred names—The committee are preparing for publication an alphabetical list of those who have aided them with their funds, and that, this may appear as speedily and be as respectable as possible they beg their Countrymen to be prompt in their subscriptions—[""]

Ordered That the foregoing address be published immediately—

Ordered That when this committee do adjourn they shall be adjourned to tomorrow morning nine o'clock—

The Committee then adjourned—

Baltimore 11th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Resolved—That Messrs. Wm. Wilson, Burke, Camp, Stevens, Schaffer,

<sup>115</sup> Charles Ernest, ship carpenter, was a member of the Fell's Point Rifle Corps. He was still abed in June, 1815, when an appeal was made in the newspaper for assistance to this wounded veteran.

Taylor, Lorman and Waters be and they are hereby appointed to procure as speedily as possible thirty or more ships or vessels and to deliver them to Commodore Rodgers for the purpose of Having them sunk near Fort McHenry in such manner & place as the Commodore shall direct, as required by the Major Generals communication of this date—

Resolved, That Messrs Hollingsworth, Jessup, Warner, Berry and Alricks be and they are hereby authorised and required to provide immediately Tents and Camp equipage and to supply the wants of the Militia of the third Brigade and for that purpose to appoint such number of superintendants as they may deem necessary—

Ordered That the Committee heretofore appointed to provide a Hospital be and they are hereby required to supply the wants of the sick and wounded at present, until another arrangement can be made and a supply can be had in the regular way, of such articles as are said to be wanted in the communication of the Hospital surgeon of this date—

Ordered That Mr. Kelso and Mr. Frisby be and they are hereby required to procure forthwith such number of labourers to work on the Fortifications to the eastward of the City as the Engineer can employ—

The Committee then adjourned to 4 O'Clock P. M. of this day—

Baltimore 4 O'Clock P. M. 11th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment. The proceedings of the forenoon were read—

It was stated that a certain man named Maxwell has of late conducted himself in a manner so as to excite suspicion that he has or intends to have some intercourse with the enemy—therefore—

Ordered, That the chairman of this committee cause the said Maxwell to be arrested immediately & imprisoned during the present time of alarm—

Capt. Thomas C. Jenkins <sup>116</sup> appeared and offered the services of his Company of exempts in any way that they could be most usefully employed—

Resolved, That Capt. Jenkins, Capt. Mackenheimer and Capt. Lynch <sup>117</sup> be and they are hereby requested to divide their companies into sections and to lay off the city into districts so as to suit their convenience and to patrol the city and suburbs every night during the present time of alarm— And that Mr. Stouffer inform Capt. Lynch and Mr. Bond inform Capt. Mackinheimer of the proposed arrangement—

Resolved, That the committee appointed to superintend the works of defence be and they are hereby authorised and required to call on all able bodied free men of colour to turn out and labour on the Fortifications or other works; and in case of refusal to call on the commanders of the several companies of exempts to assist in enforcing such persons to turn out and labour—

The Committee then adjourned to 8 O'Clock tomorrow morning—

<sup>116</sup> Thomas C. Jenkins (d. 1834), 47 S. Charles St.

<sup>117</sup> John Lynch (1763-1848).

Baltimore 12th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of yesterday afternoon were read—

Whereas it is represented to this committee that it will contribute very materially to the preservation of good order in our City, if the retailing of spirituous liquors were prevented after a certain specified hour of the night; therefore—

Resolved, That the Mayor be and he is hereby requested to cause all Taverns except those for the accommodation of Travellers, and all those Houses where spirituous liquors are retailed to be closed at 9 O'Clock every night and to remain closed during the night—

The committee then adjourned to three O'Clock P. M. this day

Baltimore 3 O'Clock P. M. 12th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
the proceedings of yesterday afternoon were read—

Resolved, That Mr. Mortimer<sup>114</sup> be and he is hereby authorised and directed to remove the sick Family at Mr. Sterlings place,<sup>119</sup> formerly Hustlers Garden, immediately at the expense of this committee

The committee then adjourned to 8 O'Clock of this evening

Baltimore 8 O'Clock P. M. 12th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance & Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of the afternoon were read—and nothing being communicated or proposed for adoption the committee adjourned to 8 O'Clock tomorrow morning—

Baltimore 13th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—

The committee received a verbal communication from the Major General, requesting that, they would have the provisions of our fellow citizens in arms cooked every day for them during the actual investment of our city by the Enemy; therefore—

Resolved, That the several members of this Committee be and they are hereby requested to have as much of the provisions for our army cooked in his own Family and also by others, every day, as he possibly can during the present emergency—

The committee then adjourned to 3 O'Clock of this day—

Baltimore 3 O'Clock P. M. 13th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—  
The proceedings of the forenoon were read—

The Major General informed the Committee by a verbal communication

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Mortimer (1771-1828), carpenter, York nr. Forest St.

<sup>119</sup> William Sterling, grocer, 11 Baltimore St.

that, the troops under General Douglas command were in want of provisions: therefore—

Resolved, That Mr. Bond be and he is hereby requested and directed to send provisions immediately to the Troops under General Douglas command—

Resolved, That Mr. Payson be and he is hereby authorised and requested to purchase for the use of the Army, on the best terms he can, of Mr. Robert Barry <sup>120</sup> all the provisions he has on hand—

The Committee then adjourned to 8 O'Clock tomorrow morning—

Baltimore 14th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of yesterday were read—

Mr. David Willie came before the committee complained that his waggon and team had been pressed and prayed that it [be] released—The committee took the complaint under consideration and promised relief as soon as possible

The committee received a communication through their chairman from Major Armstead requesting this committee to furnish him with two hundred shovels one hundred Pick axes and five hundred Pieces of Timber eight feet long and one foot square, for the purpose of erecting bomb proof covered ways for the protection of the soldiery stationed at Fort McHenry: therefore—

Resolved, That Mr. Payson be and he is hereby authorised and requested to have one hundred Pick axes and two hundred Shovels collected immediately and sent to Fort McHenry—

Resolved, That Mr. Burke and Mr. Taylor be and they are hereby authorised and directed to procure five hundred pieces of Timber eight feet long and twelve inches square and with all possible dispatch to deliver them to Major Armstead at Fort McHenry—

The Committee then adjourned to 3 O'Clock P. M. of this day—

Baltimore 3 O'Clock P. M. 14th September 1814

The Committee of Vigilance and Safety met pursuant to adjournment—The proceedings of the forenoon were read—

The Committee received a verbal communication from the Major General requesting, that, two Fire Ships should be prepared and delivered to Commodore Rogers forthwith; that carriages should be sent to bring home the wounded: and that a party be sent to bury the Dead—therefore—

Resolved, That Mr. Burke, Mr. Schaffer and Mr. Stevens with Mr. Joseph Smith <sup>121</sup> the Harbour Master, be and they are hereby requested to provide two Fire Ships; say old sloops or schooners filled with light wood, tar and other combustible matter and to deliver them with all possible dispatch to Commodore Rodgers—

<sup>120</sup> Robert Barry (d. 1838), merchant, 12 Spear's Wharf, dw. Water St.

<sup>121</sup> Joseph Smith, harbor master, 16 Pitt St.

Resolved That, the Members of this Committee will immediately press and procure Hacks or other Carriages to bring our wounded men from the battle ground—

Resolved, That Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Payson & Mr. Frisby be appointed a committee, whose duty it shall be, first to provide for the immediate internment of such of our brave fellow citizens as have fallen in the late attack on this city and further to provide for such funeral Honors as becomes the duty of the living to pay to the brave and virtuous Dead—

Ordered, That the foregoing Resolution be published—

Resolved, That Mr. William Wilson and Mr. Frisby be and they are hereby directed and requested to wait on Major Armstead and know of him whether he would require any other ships to be sunk near Fort McHenry—

Resolved, That the Superintendent theretofore appointed to aid in the Fortifications at Camp-look-out be and he is hereby requested to furnish the Engineer tomorrow morning with as many labourers and Carpenters as he may require, and to continue the supply of labour and mechanical aid until the work is completed—

The following letter was read agreed to and ordered to be forwarded—

To the Deputy Commissary of Purchases

Sir—

The opportunities which we have had of observing the injury to the public service by the absence of the Deputy Commissary of purchases and the public Storekeeper induces us to assume the privilege of recommending that those important officers may not permit their military to interfere with their Staff duties, but on the contrary they remain to discharge the latter—

The Committee then adjourned to 8 O'Clock tomorrow morning—

*(To be continued)*

# ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF ELECTRICAL COMMUNICATION IN THE UNITED STATES <sup>1</sup>

By FRANK B. JEWETT

When, one hundred years ago today, Samuel F. B. Morse, over his experimental electromagnetic telegraph line, sent the now historic words, "What hath God wrought," not only over the wires between Baltimore and Washington but down the channels of Time itself, a great new era in the development of human society was inaugurated.

The forces first released and set on the march on that spring day a century ago have created entirely new problems requiring new solutions and new adaptations in practically every undertaking, whether in peace or war, in which gregarious man is involved.

Chronologically, telegraphy was the first great useful application of electricity. For over thirty years it was the *only* substantial use. Then in the late 1870's and almost simultaneously, two other applications of great potential utility, viz., telephony and electric power, which sprang from the same root stock as telegraphy, i. e., the Faraday and Henry experiments, took form and began to grow apace. We are not here concerned with the history of electric power generation, transmission and utilization, but we are concerned with Alexander Graham Bell's invention of the telephone and the art which developed out of it and which was destined in a few short years to become the dominant factor in the field of electrical communication.

Toward the end of the century the two arts of telegraphy and telephony began to influence each other under a double urge. These were (a) the enormous scientific and technical strides for-

<sup>1</sup> Digest of a paper presented before Maryland Historical Society, May 24, 1944; and before Sigma Xi Society, University of Chicago, June 1, 1944.

ward which the onerous requirements had brought about in telephony and (b) the obvious by-product values to telegraphy which such strides had automatically produced. It was toward the end of this era also that the ultimate economic places of the two arts in the field of electrical communication began to become clearly envisaged.

#### AN ACHIEVEMENT OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

The story of the development of electrical communications in all its infinite ramifications is one of the great sagas of human evolution.

In any panoramic picture of a hundred years of electrical communication in the United States we will find all sectors of it—telegraphy, telephony and radio broadcasting—involved at one time or another or continuously, with the same principal factors but in varying degrees. In each, however, there has always been, from the start, one factor common to all and absent for the most part in other countries. It is a factor which has had a powerful influence in raising electrical communication in the United States to its position of unquestioned preeminence, both technically and as a tool of maximum utility in the social structure.

Here, as practically nowhere else in the world, the development of electrical communication has always been a private enterprise. Invariably regulation by the State has followed a very substantial uncontrolled development and has been imposed only when usage has become so great that the service was tinged with a large public interest which the State could not neglect. Generally speaking, the objective of State regulation has been to insure adequate service at reasonable non-discriminatory rates which, while protecting the public against exploitation, would not impose obstacles in the way of that full development and use of new tools and methods which are the hallmark of a free enterprise system.

#### SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

Properly to appraise any picture of development in the several fields which constitute present-day electrical communication and of the interrelations between them, it is desirable to keep clearly in mind two or three simple distinctions and one common misconception. The misconception is found in the designation of radio

as something distinct from telegraphy and telephony. In a technical sense all radio, including broadcasting, is either telephony or telegraphy which employs free transmission of electromagnetic waves through the ether rather than transmission from transmitter to receiver guided by wires.

The simplest and most generally applicable distinction between telegraphy and telephony is that telegraphy is a form of intelligence transmission by electrical means in which the meaning of the message is transmitted to the brain of the ultimate recipient through the mechanism of his eyes. In telephony, on the other hand, it is transmitted through his ears. In general also telegraphy is a rapid form of intelligence transmission analogous to mail, in that it involves one or more intermediary human beings in the transmitting chain between sender and recipient. With telephony, on the other hand, after the transmission channel is established, communication is directly between sender and recipient, without intermediaries, as it would be in a *vis-à-vis* conversation. In telegraphy also it is sufficient merely to have the received energy in the same sequence of energy packages as is sent out by the transmitter. Within limits it is not required that the form of packages be the same.

In telephony, on the other hand, it is imperative that the *form* in which the energy is received at the distant end of the circuit deviate but little from its *form* at the sending end. If this is not so, there is distortion which, if substantial, destroys the context of the intelligence, no matter how great the received energy.

It is these basic characteristics of each form of communication that explain why those who launched the telephone on its corporate career had little experience to which they could appeal, and why there were to be fundamental differences in the business practices of the two industries.

#### COMMERCIAL GROWTH

After Morse's demonstration, telegraph lines came into being rapidly. Initially they were relatively short and disconnected. Gradually, as they increased in number and the art progressed, they began to merge into systems of communication, and the systems into still larger systems, all directed, consciously or unconsciously, toward the goal of a universal service.

Here in the United States this process went on until there were but two systems (the Western Union and Postal) which persisted essentially competitive for the general message business of the nation long after any benefits of competition had ceased to exist. It is only within the past few months—a hundred years after the Baltimore-Washington demonstration—that final merging into a single nationwide system (the Western Union Telegraph Company) has been made and a monopoly of the message business under private ownership and management, with Government supervision, established.

Parallel with the growth of general message systems, various specialized telegraph services grew up and continue to exist. Some of these are operational adjuncts to other services, such as railroads; others involve furnishing of private message facilities to large users having unique needs, such as press associations or industries with widely scattered interests. And in recent years a special telegraph service available to both large and small users has been made possible through the application of certain telephonic techniques and facilities. This is a switched printing telegraph service—TWX—which is now employed by a multitude of subscribers throughout the nation.

Telephony, like its older brother telegraphy, also went through an evolutionary process. It started in a small way in many separated places and gradually, as the art advanced and the separate small units expanded their radii of operation, they met and coalesced into larger units, and these later into yet larger ones. It was a natural evolution which grew out of the nature of telephony—not a series of combinations fostered by outside forces.

While the inherent physical limitations of the earliest telephone instruments dictated the initiation of telephony in numerous isolated places, there were from the beginning two factors which destined growth of what is now the integrated Bell System to follow a different path of growth from that of telegraphy.

These two factors were:

- (a) realization that if the goal of uniform satisfactory commercial service over wide areas and ultimately over the whole nation was ever to be realized, standards of performance, particularly of the terminal apparatus, i. e., the transmitter and receiver, must be rigidly maintained; further, that they

must be maintained through a mechanism which would permit readily of supplanting old instruments with more efficient ones as these latter emerged from progress in the art; and

- (b) the fact that vastly greater sums of money were required to establish telephone rather than telegraph systems. This latter factor was intensified by the rapidity with which the urge for telephone service spread to town and city and later to village and countryside.

#### BASIS OF GOOD PUBLIC SERVICE

Confronted with these two problems, the owners of the fundamental Bell patents had to decide what to do about ownership of the instruments and how best to raise the vast sums of money required for plant.

The first was solved by deciding to retain ownership and furnish the terminal apparatus to the operating companies on a license or royalty basis; the second through the incorporation of separate companies, each licensed to operate exclusively in a determined area. In most of these companies the parent Bell organization had stock ownership and supplied part of the capital—the remainder being supplied locally.

This ownership and maintenance of instruments by the parent company was adhered to for many years—long after the basic Bell patents had expired. It was the rock on which the whole laborious climb toward a universal and uniformly good nationwide service was based. It was not discarded and the instruments sold to the operating companies, like all other plant items, until the progress and control of the physical development of the art and the gradual realization of uniform policies in the several operating companies had progressed sufficiently to make clear to all the wisdom of centralized guidance.

For if this vision of nationwide and worldwide telephony were not to prove a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp, far-reaching decisions concerning business policy had to be made and then faithfully adhered to. For instance, if some day New York was going to talk not only to Buffalo and Pittsburgh, but to Chicago and Omaha and Denver and San Francisco—and, likewise, Chicago and Omaha and Denver were to be able to talk to San Francisco—a nationwide uniformity of telephone equipment and tele-

phone operating practices would be needed. When these broad desiderata were translated into working arrangements, they led the pioneers to the concept of centralized engineering, to centralized research and development, to centralized manufacture, and to centralized ownership of patents; in other words, they led uniquely to the articulated group of corporate parts which characterizes the Bell System and which is as well adapted to its task today with over 20,000,000 telephones in the country as it was when there were 20,000.

Viewed from the broad base of our present knowledge this System may seem so natural, almost so inevitable, as to excite little wonder. But when we project ourselves back to the meager electrical art of 1885 and remember that at that time this art had had little or no chance to express itself in business structures, we realize that it was a high order of organizing genius which planned so that no false moves and no back-tracking would be needed at a later time.

#### REACTION OF TELEPHONY UPON TELEGRAPHY

While the problems of telephony are in many respects different from those of telegraphy and so tend to different or even divergent modes of commercial development, there are three dominant factors on the physical side which pull irresistably to bring the two services together. Many of the mechanisms and operating methods of telephony are applicable in simpler form in telegraphy; likewise there are transmission values in all telephone circuits, automatically produced but not needed in telephony which can be used for telegraphy simultaneously. Further, since the standards of construction and maintenance which telephony imperatively requires are higher than those needed in telegraphy, telegraph circuits obtained by use of the telephone plant are extremely reliable.

The Telephone Companies did not attempt to handle a telegraph message business. This would have required a commercial setup different from that employed in connection with the telephone, and would have introduced a violent element of competition into the field already occupied competitively by the telegraph companies. But with only minor increases in central office equipment and in personnel, the long distance telephone

lines could be used for "leased-wire" and other special telegraph purposes without in any way interfering with the availability of these same lines to telephone subscribers.

But we are more interested in the benefits accruing to the telegraph from telephone research and which have multiplied rapidly with the years.

Subsequent to 1900 the proven value in the field of fundamental science research of what has been loosely termed the scientific method of attack was recognized as a powerful implement applicable also in the industrial field. From this recognition have grown the great industrial research laboratories which, like Bell Telephone Laboratories, now so largely determine industrial progress. This determination results not alone from a more rapid fashioning of keystones but likewise, through the rigorous controls which their methods require, a lessening of abortive attempts to advance an art too rapidly.

So firmly has the value of the industrial research laboratory in the electrical communication field been established during the past forty years, that it is inconceivable now that any branch of the art can progress effectively without it.

The dream of a universal telephone service adequate at all times was and is today the driving force behind all the research and development work that is going on at Bell Telephone Laboratories. This is because the ideal cannot be attained unless the physical problems are solved and solved at a price which is low enough to permit full use of the service.

Involved in this ideal are:

- (1) Distance anywhere must not be a barrier.
- (2) The service must be available anywhere any time on demand.
- (3) It must approach as nearly as possible "no delay" service, i. e., establishment of the desired connection while the calling party is at the telephone.

At the moment, carrier current transmission, by which many messages can be transmitted simultaneously over the same pair of wires, has taken us a long way toward the ultimate goal. By means of the carrier technique any telephone channel could be adapted to convey eighteen or more telegraph messages simultaneously. But more than this, the telephone line itself could be

pyramided in such a way as to transmit, at first three, and today twelve to sixteen separate and independent telephone conversations.<sup>2</sup> To recapitulate, a pair of wires which in the early days of the telephone could carry but a single conversation, can now carry sixteen conversations. Or, if all of these telephone channels should perchance be wanted for telegraph purposes, then the single pair of wires could convey over two hundred telegraph messages at one and the same time.

#### QUEST OF A TELEPHONE REPEATER

And before universal service could be attained there was urgent need of a telephone repeater or amplifier to restore energy to the line periodically. Moreover, it was appreciated that once a successful repeater was at hand, it would be the open sesame to the then untried potentialities of radio transmission.

Then too, the storm breaks of important open wire lines were becoming increasingly annoying. The best recalled instance is the sleet storm which isolated Washington on the day of President Taft's inauguration. It led to the ultimatum from Vail to his engineers that they must find some way to put long distance telephone lines underground or in some other way protect them from storm damage. The first notable answer to Vail's challenge was the opening of the Boston-Washington underground cable in 1912. It gave commercial transmission but it stretched the use of large wires and loading coils to the limit.

Triumphs based upon the repeater came in rapid succession. The first transcontinental telephone line was opened commercially in January, 1915<sup>3</sup> and vindicated all the expectations which had been associated with the thermionic vacuum tube. In the fall of that year the same group of engineers transmitted the voice from Washington across the Atlantic to Paris by radio telephone. Longer cable circuits than the original Boston-Washington group, and employing the vacuum tube amplifier, were shortly to appear. Today, such a cable spans the continent. The carrier form of transmission, as I have already mentioned, led to

<sup>2</sup> The exact number of carrier channels, both telegraph and telephone, derived in practice is primarily determined by economic rather than physical factors.

<sup>3</sup> The first actual conversation from New York to San Francisco was six months earlier. The story of this transcontinental line is one of the great chapters in the history of electrical communication.

multiplexing, almost beyond the dreams of avarice, until on a single coaxial cable employing but two conductors, we transmit four hundred eighty telephone messages at the same time.

It was inevitable that out of this energetically expanding research program, knowledge, methods and devices of major importance to the telegraph art should arise. As a matter of fact, the telegraphic by-products of telephone research were, and continue to be, major contributions to the advancement of telegraphy.

I shall not attempt a complete itemization but I do want to mention a few instances because they are essential to an understanding of the story from here on. These developments spurred on by the growth of the telephone, have affected, or will in the future affect, many phases of telegraph practice, such as the terminal instruments, the lines of transmission, and the philosophy underlying the operation of the lines; and, finally, the facilities and practices for switching the lines.

A promising contribution of telephony to the telegraph art is the facility for rapidly switching or interconnecting lines that is so necessary to telephone service. The combination of rapid switching with the printer telegraph is the basis of the TWX service mentioned earlier.

With this type of service two individuals or offices can intercommunicate very quickly, and can if they wish converse together, not by the spoken word, but by the written word, each typing out his comments as the exchange of ideas progresses, the charge being determined by circuit time rather than by the number of words sent, as is common for message telegraphy.

Undoubtedly, one of the most spectacular scientific contributions of telephone research in recent years to the telegraph art is the permalloy loaded submarine cable. The copper conductor of this cable carries a winding of high permeability iron alloy tape which imparts a very beneficial magnetic quality to the cable that is not possessed by earlier examples of the submarine cable technique. This magnetic layer surrounding the copper does for the cable about what loading coils have long done for land telephone lines. To sum the matter up in very few words, a transatlantic permalloy cable has about five times the message capacity of the older style non-magnetic cable. Various permalloy loaded cables are now in successful use throughout the world.

My last illustration of a contribution from the newer to the older art will refer to the carrier current developments which, as mentioned earlier, permit of rather fantastic multiplexing of various types of circuits. One of the essentials of modern carrier practice (and of modern radio transmission also) is the so-called electrical wave filter, an invention of Dr. George A Campbell, now retired, but formerly of the engineering staff of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. The wave filter can take many forms, sometimes being built of coils and condensers, and at other times of thin slabs of crystals of quartz, of Rochelle Salt, or of other substances—but however constructed, it permits of almost knife-like electrical separation of messages at the receiving end of a circuit, almost as though they were printed on a strip of paper and then slit apart with a pair of shears.

The practical value of carrier transmission, and therefore of the wave filter, increases with the sharpness of discrimination which it permits between messages. As mentioned earlier, these modern telephone techniques make it possible, for instance, to transmit as many as eighteen telegraph messages together in a circuit which will carry a single telephone message. This obviously represents an important circuit economy. The practice has been extensively employed in telephone plants during recent years as a means both of securing telegraph channels for leased wire and TWX circuits and, on occasion, for providing facilities to the message telegraph companies.

#### POST-WAR TECHNOLOGY

Any reference to the post-war world would be conspicuously incomplete without a word, at least, regarding the technological possibilities that seem to be forthcoming. So far as concerns electrical communication, many of these are encompassed in that now portentous word "electronics." This is a field which in certain respects has been definitely advanced as a result of war research and of the wartime applications of pre-war research. In general terms, this work has made much higher frequencies available for practical uses. The electrical spectrum has been extended usefully upward, thereby adding very materially to the number of ether channels that are available for overland communication. The shorter radio waves which are transmitted at these frequencies, travel only in straight lines, and do not hug the curved surface of

the earth as do the very long waves, nor are they reflected from the upper ionized layers of the earth's atmosphere, as are the so-called short waves of present-day radio transmission.

On the other hand, these ultra-high frequencies which will shortly become available, can, like a searchlight beam, be readily pointed in any desired direction, thus conserving energy and minimizing one of the present causes of interference, between radio stations, namely, that their generated energy spreads out either in all directions, or through a considerable angle. What the ultimate value of ultra-high frequency directed radio will prove to be is now largely conjectural. Some of its possibilities are inherently very attractive, however, and it promises to be assiduously explored and tested once the war is over.<sup>4</sup>

From what I have already said, you will understand that transmission channels secured in this way will be of equal use to both the telegraph and telephone. Perhaps a more immediate application, however, will be made to television and to facsimile, where it can furnish the means for broadcasting visual or graphic programs throughout any local area, much as broadcasting does for sound. Further development will also disclose the relative places of repeatered broad band carrier systems on wire guides and by radio in main trunk routes.

The present prospect is, therefore, that there is still a vast future for the application of scientific research to the advancement of electrical communication. The first century has brought us a long distance on our way, but the final goal as yet is nowhere in sight.

#### CONSIDERATIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY

Turning from the scientific to the public policy aspects of the communication art, time does not permit more than mere mention of some of the many juridical and semi-juridical problems engendered by rapid and enormous growth.

Principal among these have been the methods by which the State has sought to supervise equitably a vast public service performed by private agencies rather than by the State itself.

<sup>4</sup> Since this address was delivered the Federal Communications Commission has approved an application of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to construct a directed beam radio system between New York and Boston.

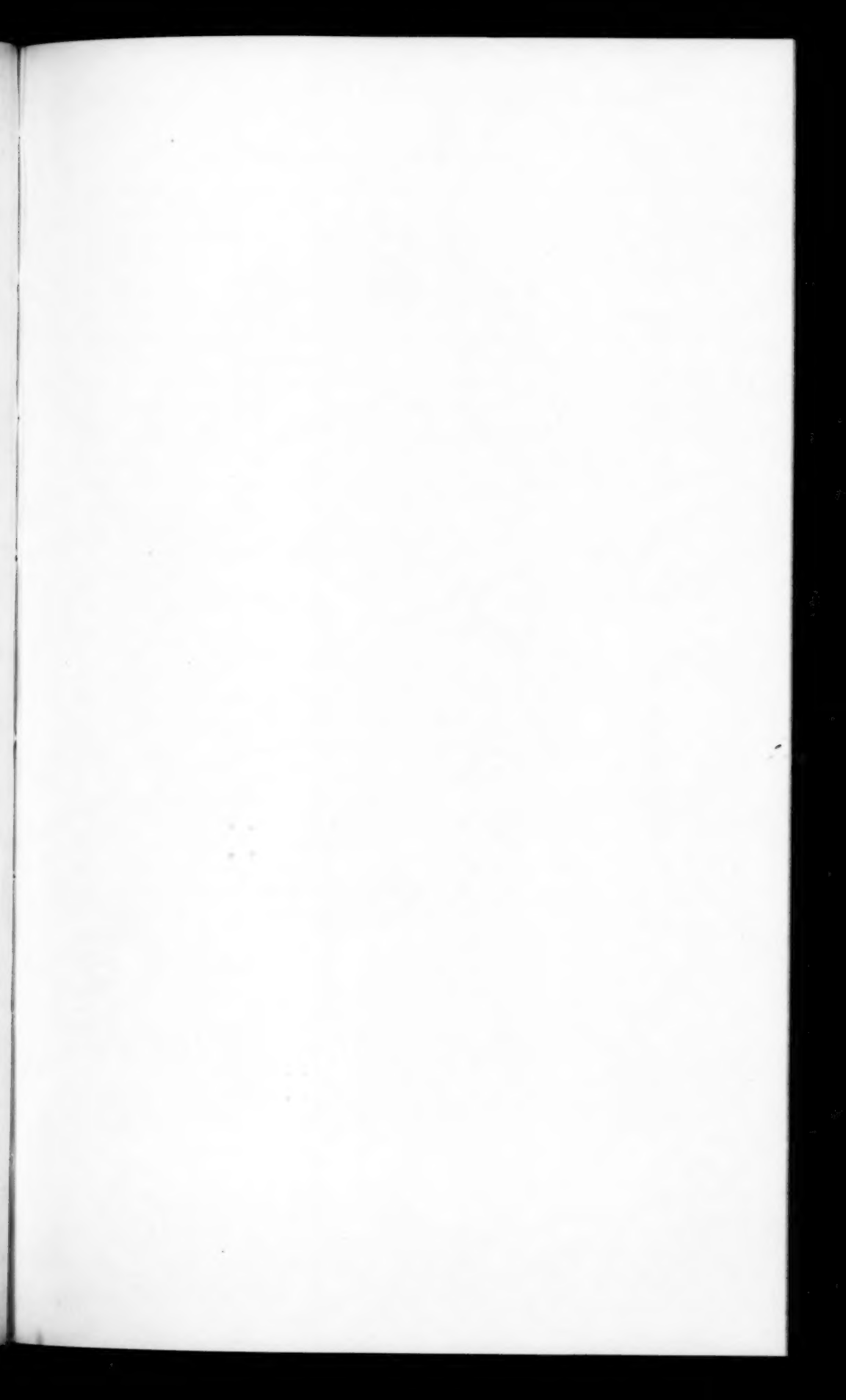
Long before regulatory bodies representing the public had come into existence, several of the state legislatures debated the expediency of putting a ceiling on the monthly charge that could be made for a telephone. So far as I know, the first and actually the only State to act was Indiana, which in 1884 passed a law stipulating that the monthly charge for a single telephone could not exceed \$3.00 and that if any subscriber had two telephones the monthly charge for each was to be \$2.50. The bill was passed over the protestations of the young telephone companies then operating in Indiana and, as it soon developed, against the interests of the people of Indiana. As the law made impossible any operating profit, it demoralized the telephone personnel and at once froze the sources of money needed for further expansion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the State legislature rescinded its hasty action within twelve months or so, and their unhappy example served as a warning to other legislative bodies.

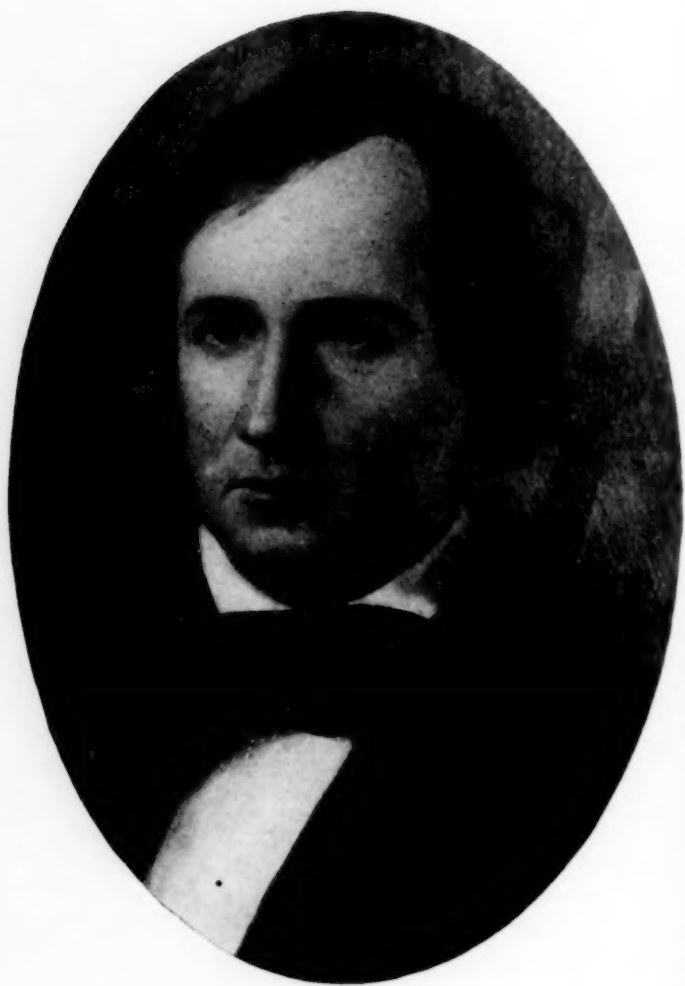
Many years later came the first of the quasi-judicial regulatory bodies or Commissions whose functions, methods and powers are still in an evolutionary state.

And more recently, broadcasting has grown in an incredibly short time to a great industry, a great public interest and a great social problem. In every sector it has posed new questions whose importance is so great and whose impact so violent as to create veritable storms both of inquiry and controversy.

While application of this form of transmission to the ordinary problems of telephony and telegraphy has altered their methods and expanded their fields of service, adaptation would not be difficult if this were all that science and technology had injected.

When, however, the full utilization of radio as a unique method of broadcasting intelligence is brought in on a huge scale, all the older problems have to be reappraised in the light of the new art. In addition there is introduced the element of a new competition in news and information dissemination. Likewise, the age-old question of freedom of speech and of the press arises anew in sinister form because necessary control by the State of the mechanisms of transmission, if chaos is to be avoided, offers both the possibility of censorship and, more, the allegation that it is sought to be imposed by the State.





ISAAC VAN BIBBER

(January 17, 1810—September 28, 1847)

From a portrait made about the time of his tour through Central and Southern Maryland. Owned by Mrs. J. Alexis (Harriet Van Bibber) Shriver.

## A MARYLAND TOUR IN 1844: DIARY OF ISAAC VAN BIBBER

Contributed by J. ALEXIS SHRIVER

[The Van Bibbers came originally from Utrecht, Holland, and settled on part of "Bohemia Manor" in Cecil County, Maryland. Some of the descendants of these settlers moved to Baltimore, and went into the shipping business at Fells Point, then a rival of Baltimore, but now part of it. They were very successful, and built a handsome house on Thames Street, the woodwork of which was secured in recent years by J. Alexis Shriver, and taken to his home at "Olney," Harford County, Md.

After having amassed considerable money at Fells Point, Washington Van Bibber (1778-1848) and his wife Lucretia Emory, moved to "Avondale," in Carroll County, Md., a few miles beyond Westminster, and took up the home of Legh Master, who had an iron furnace there, and who in a fit of anger pushed one of his colored servants into a burning furnace.

While at Avondale the Van Bibbers, through Isaac Van Bibber, just 100 years ago—1844—as a result of his collections, built the Episcopal Church in Westminster. All the Van Bibbers of Avondale are buried in this church yard, and there they reinterred the body of Legh Master, originally buried at "Avondale."

Dr. W. Chew Van Bibber, one of the brothers, however, moved to Baltimore, and was for many years a very successful doctor on Franklin St., residing where the present Y. M. C. A. building now stands. Miss Alice Van Bibber, one of his daughters, lives on Bolton Street, Baltimore.

Isaac Van Bibber was born January 27, 1810, studied law and was admitted to the bar; spent three years in European travel, returned to "Avondale," and died there September 28, 1847.—  
J. A. S.]

[DIARY OF ISAAC VAN BIBBER] <sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday the 6th of March I set out upon an expedition, concerted between Mr. Buel <sup>2</sup> and myself, and approved of by the other members of the family, to collect money to aid in building our Episcopal Church in Westminster.<sup>2a</sup> The morning was a delightful one, and in so far the heavens appeared propitious to the enterprise. I was mounted upon Chew's mare, and bound to Sykesville, with the intention of proceeding thence to Baltimore to obtain credentials from the Bishop.<sup>3</sup> Little occurred previous to my arrival at Sykesville worth mentioning, excepting that I fell in with two whirlwinds and Jacob Null. I must give the former the credit of saying that during the short time they favoured me with their society, they exhibited far greater liveliness and vivacity than the latter. Indeed, I am compelled to add that Mr. Null would have been much more appropriately designated if, instead of *one* name, he had followed the example of Lord Brougham and Vaux, and adopted the highly significant title of Null and Void.

As Mr. Garratt <sup>4</sup> was not at home upon my arrival in Sykesville, and most of the doors appeared to be locked, I enjoyed an opportunity not to be neglected of ascertaining by repeated measurement the number of paces in the hall and portico of the hotel. At length Mrs. Garratt appeared, and as I was ravenously hungry, I requested dinner immediately. She curtesied very politely, and requested to know whether I would have fish or beefsteak. I was about to say *both*, and had some faint thoughts of suggesting the addition of a veal cutlet, but reflecting that such a reply would

<sup>1</sup> The valued services of Miss Lucy Leigh Bowie in preparing the notes are gratefully acknowledged. Thanks are also due Miss Anne Armour Perkins for information relating to Carroll County families and to Mrs. Douglas Thomas for help with those of Prince George's.—Editor.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. David Hillhouse Buell, native of New York, who was at this time rector of Holy Trinity and Ascension Churches, Carroll County, Md.

<sup>2a</sup> Ascension Church, Westminster, Rev. Richard M. Lundberg, rector, celebrated its centenary in the spring of the present year and on August 27, last, unveiled a plaque in grateful remembrance of the efforts of Mr. and Mrs. Washington Van Bibber and two sons, Isaac and Thomas, in serving the Church.

<sup>3</sup> Rt. Rev. William Rollinson Whittingham, a native of New York, Bishop of Maryland, 1840-1879.

<sup>4</sup> Garratt and many others mentioned have proved too difficult for ready identification.

hardly have been delicate under the circumstances, and moreover that I was upon an errand of the Church, and that this was the season of Lent, I therefore uttered with sorrowful forbearance—fish. Shortly after, Mr. Garratt made his appearance, and in answer to my salutation of "how he did?" very obligingly gave me an account of all his complaints for the last six months, and then by an easy and perfectly natural transition, passed over to a very minute detail of the purchase, wearing out, and final abandonment of a most remarkable overcoat. While he was in the midst of this intensely interesting narration, a black woman entered and said something to him in a low tone of voice, but he proceeded without paying the slightest attention to her communication. It occurred to me that dinner was announced, and I felt very sorry to be compelled to interrupt the story in one of the most thrilling passages, to inquire whether it were not so. On receiving a reply in the affirmative, I proceeded immediately in the direction of the dining room, but Garratt followed close behind and during the greater part of the meal regaled me with the account of his adventurous overcoat. After dinner, I took a short nap; got into the cars about 4 o'clock; arrived in Baltimore without incident or accident; took tea at Whitman's,<sup>5</sup> and having such a headache as to prevent my visiting anywhere, attended one of Professor Silliman's lectures upon Geology.<sup>6</sup> This was an admirable discourse beautifully delivered. From the lecture I went to Aunt Emory's, where I met Wm. Lindenberger and after waiting until about 11 o'clock, admitted Chew and went to bed in his room. N. B. saw Miss Courtney.

Thursday, March 7th. After breakfasting and making a few purchases, Chew and I called on the Bishop, who received us kindly, and after reading Mr. Buel's letter, promised to give me a circular recommending my undertaking to the liberal and charitable of his diocese. He and Mr. Hewitt<sup>7</sup> appeared quite well. After leaving the Bishop's, Chew and I directed our steps towards the Medical College;<sup>8</sup> although Chew was obliged to stop on the way and put up a box of pills. This detained us so

<sup>5</sup> Presumably William Whitman's Eagle Hotel, Pratt St. east of Light.

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Silliman, professor of chemistry and natural history at Yale.

<sup>7</sup> Rev. Nathaniel Augustus Hewitt, native of Connecticut, in 1844 rector of St. John's Church, Huntington (Waverly), Baltimore.

<sup>8</sup> Of the University of Maryland.

long that we found considerable difficulty in getting into the crowded amphitheatre where the Commencement took place. Degrees were given to more than 30 young men. The circular hall was completely crowded with ladies, and such were the noise and confusion that scarcely anything could be heard. There were two or three pretty women to be seen, but I could discover very few traces of intelligence in the countenances of the graduates. The music was not bad. After the commencement I went to dine with Frederick Brune, who met me on the street and gave me an invitation; in the afternoon I went to see John Brune<sup>9</sup> at the Counting House; and at night attended a lecture, and afterwards a supper at Dr. Dunbar's.<sup>10</sup> The Doctor delivered a valedictory to four of his students, who had graduated at the commencement, presenting them at the same time with a certificate of proficiency, and giving them a world of good and wholesome advice, interspersed with occasional touches of the pathetic and the facetious. The supper was cold but the welcome warm. I made out my meal principally from pound cake and pickled oysters. Such was the profusion of beef upon the table that I was inclined to think that the Doctor had been sacrificing a hecatomb to Æsculapius. Also, it was a first rate dish—was chicken salad. After supper I returned to Aunt Emory's; slept like a top; was waked at 6 o'clock the following morning, March 8, and perceiving that it was a rainy day, determined to remain until a later hour, or, if the bad weather continued, all day. After breakfast, I took a solemn leave of my Aunts and cousins, and determined, even if I remained in town that day, not to show myself among them again; I dislike too many leave-takings. Having bought myself an umbrella, I walked about the streets or lounged in book-stores, until a suitable dinner hour, when I repaired to Robinson's oyster house<sup>11</sup> and took a simple but exquisite repast—the fact is, I'm a great oyster-man. After eating, I continued to sit in the little apartment, reading, writing and cyphering for an hour or two,

<sup>9</sup> Frederick W. Brune (1813-1878) and John C. Brune (1814-1864) were sons of Frederick W. Brune, Sr., who came to Baltimore from Bremen in 1799. The younger Frederick was one of the founders in 1844 of the Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. John R. W. Dunbar (1805-1871), removed to Baltimore from Winchester, Va., in 1830.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Robinson's ale and oyster house, according to the city directory for 1844, was at 6 Light St.

when, at last I heard a great noise in front of the house, and on inquiry found it to proceed from a crowd of people assembled about a live leopard, which, getting loose from its keeper, who was parading it about the streets, had inflicted a severe injury upon a child which happened to be within its reach. Leaving my coat and books upon the table, I went into the common sitting room, where, after I had satisfied my curiosity in regard to the leopard, I seated myself beside the stove and continued to read. Shortly afterwards I put on my great coat and went into the street. Wishing to purchase one or two articles, I went into a shop, and having made a selection, I put my hand in my pocket in search of my pocket-book. Not being able to find it, after a long search, I went back to the Oyster House, where after hunting in vain for some time, I had the landlord and all the servants assembled and stated to them my loss. They all, of course, looked very blank. At last, however, I discovered the object of my search in a pocket I had not previously examined; and then no doubt looked exceedingly blank in my turn. I should have mentioned that yesterday evening I saw Nannie and found her looking much better than when I had last seen her during the winter. At night I slept at Dix & Foggs.<sup>12</sup> Fog was very attentive to me and insisted upon my drinking a glass of wine with him. I found it, for so damp a night, an excellent antifogmatic. Dix I didn't see. I was aroused at an early hour of the morning.

March 9, 1844, and had my head well combed and my clothes well brushed previous to starting from the hotel. Breakfast, if such it may be called, I took at my friend Whitman's, and insisted upon paying for it. I mention this circumstance, because that valuable friend had refused to receive payment for my occupying a room during 24 hours after my first arrival in town. Immediately after breakfast I entered the cars, and read and shook and grunted until I arrived at Sykesville. Here I met with Mr. Warfield,<sup>13</sup> who very pressingly invited me to come to see him. At the same time I met Mr. Sykes,<sup>14</sup> who gave me permission to put his name down on my subscription list for 10 dollars. Leaving

<sup>12</sup> Dix and Fogg kept the Fountain Inn, on Light Street, site of the present Southern Hotel.

<sup>13</sup> George Frazer Warfield, who built "Groveland" at Sykesville. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties*, p. 170. This and other local sources have been freely drawn upon in these notes.

<sup>14</sup> Probably the mill-owner James Sykes, for whom the town was named.

Sykesville I rode immediately to Mr. Patterson's, whom I found at some distance from his house, sitting on a log reading a newspaper.<sup>15</sup> I asked him to read what I had written up on the first page of my subscription book, but instead of doing so, he asked me what it was all about. I told him it related to the building of an Episcopal Church in Westminster, at which he shook his head, saying that he would have nothing more to do with the building of Churches, as he looked upon them as causes of contention in the neighborhood. I then hazarded a few words of expostulation, and told him that I would most gratefully receive anything that was offered. To this he made no reply, pretending to be deeply engrossed with an exquisite representation of some steam cars at the head of one of the columns of the newspaper. Finding his thoughts in such a train, I bid him good morning, and receiving a very polite salutation in reply, rode away. Thus vanished my golden dream of a handsome donation from the wealthy Mr. Patterson.

From this place I rode direct to Mr. Ireland's about three miles distant.<sup>16</sup> To my application that gentleman professed himself a Methodist and said that if it were necessary he would give \$500.00 to insure the building of such a church in his neighbourhood. Mr. Ireland was seated with his hat on, at a little side table eating a private meal. He told me that he was so afflicted with rheumatism in the head that he was obliged to keep that precious knob carefully bandaged up, and that to secure the bandage in its place he was obliged constantly to wear his hat. The fact is he appeared nervous and hypochondriac to the last degree. On rising to take leave he insisted upon my remaining to dinner, which, without much entreaty, I consented to do. Shortly after, I was introduced to a Mr. Renwick, a Methodist preacher, and son-in-law to Mr. Ireland. Mrs. Ireland and two of her daughters appeared at the dinner table, which was very abundantly supplied with excellent provisions. After dinner, Renwick and I got into a theological argument upon the subject of the apostolical succession; during the course of which Mr. Ireland, notwithstanding his Methodism,

<sup>15</sup> George Patterson, of "Springfield," Carroll County, brother of Betsy Patterson who married Jerome Bonaparte. His property is now the Springfield State Hospital.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Ireland, Sr. (1795-1871), who married Deborah Moale. He was own brother to Jesse Hollingsworth (see below) but took the name of his maternal grandfather for a consideration. Information from Miss Ann Armour Perkins.

seemed inclined to advocate my side of the question. At length, I mounted my horse and went over to Mr. Jesse Hollingsworth's,<sup>17</sup> who lives in sight, about quarter of a mile distant. Jesse was not at home when I arrived, but being sent for he soon made his appearance, and gave me a warm and hospitable reception. He has residing with him as governess a young lady named Miss Badger, somewhat of the apple dumpling order of beauty, fat and healthy in the extreme. This young lady, perhaps owing to her extreme rotundity, has revolved completely round in her religious notions, and from a Presbyterian has become a complete high-churchwoman. She insists, I believe, upon being rebaptized previous to being confirmed. I found Mrs. Hollingsworth very kind, and indeed spent a very agreeable evening with the family.

March 10 Sunday. Shortly after breakfast this morning I rode to Mr. Colhoon's<sup>18</sup> accompanied by Mrs. Hollingsworth. I found Mr. Colhoon deeply engrossed by church matters, going two or three degrees higher than ever I expect to ascend. This is accounted for by the fact that Mr. Colhoon was originally a Presbyterian. He appeared to be well informed upon church history and upon all matters relating to the question which is at present agitating church people. With Mrs. Colhoon I was very much pleased. She appears to be a highly intelligent and sensible woman,—high church in her notions, but withal liberal and charitable. During the three or four hours I remained at this place our conversation was entirely upon church matters. It was maintained however with great animation and interspersed with numerous anecdotes. About 4 o'clock I again set out, and shortly before sunset arrived at Mr. Warfield's. Here, I received a warm welcome, and also three names to my subscription list. Miss Susanna and Wm. Henry<sup>19</sup> sang and chanted; and the old man dwelt upon the reminiscences of by-gone times until he was thrown into a terrible panic, by a little negro boy getting under a side table, and by his noises inducing a belief that a ferocious bandit, or, at least, a sanguinary housebreaker, was in the room.

<sup>17</sup> Jesse Hollingsworth (1800-1872) of "Weston," Carroll County, whose wife was Sophia Baker, was a son of Judge Zebulon Hollingsworth.

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Colhoon was from Philadelphia and married Miss Ireland of "Upton."

<sup>19</sup> Susanna and William Henry Warfield were the children of George Frazer Warfield of "Groveland." Susanna was an author and musician. William Henry Warfield, a graduate of West Point, left "Groveland" to the Episcopal Church and it is now known as "Warfield College."

With the exception of this little romantic incident the time flowed smoothly away until the hour of bed, when I sank into a sweet sleep under a silken coverlid.

March 11, 1844, Monday. At the hour of [not given] I started upon my feet, and indulged in the rarity of a clean shirt. Then, after breakfasting, I made an early start intending to visit Mr. Harrison's<sup>20</sup> and several of his parishioners during the day, but various causes prevented my accomplishing the latter part of my plan. In the first place, I lost myself two or three times, upon the road leading from Sykesville to the Frederick Turnpike; then, I was obliged to ride back a considerable distance for my umbrella, which, upon stopping, I had deposited very carefully beside a tree; and, finally, I thought myself bound to stop at a tavern to write a letter home—not having written since I left there, and finding a great difficulty in writing at private houses. At the tavern I also took a bite and attended to my mare. I reached Mr. Harrison's about two miles distant, about 4 o'clock, and found him in the act of driving out upon some business at Ellicott's Mills. He insisted upon my alighting and remaining with him all night. During the time of his absence, I enjoyed the company of Mrs. Harrison, her sister Miss Thompson and Mrs. Hammond; good company, though somewhat stiff. Harrison himself is perhaps a most excellent man—certainly he is exceedingly kind and hospitable—but from the cast of his countenance, one is led to infer that he is in a constant state of the most ferocious passion. This is attributable, doubtless, to dyspepsia and great emaciation. I believe, however, that his character is remarkably mild and amiable—would to heaven he looked it a little better! Mrs. Hammond soon took her leave, and the rest of the evening was spent by Mr. Harrison and myself in an agreeable literary chit-chat. He seemed to be a hard student and has a considerable knowledge of the German, of which he got me to translate for him several difficult passages. After writing a page or two in my journal, I retired about 11 o'clock, and rose about half after 6 the next morning.

March 12, Tuesday, when, immediately after breakfast, I repaired to Ellicott's Mills about 2 miles distant. The first person

<sup>20</sup> Rev. Hugh T. Harrison, native of Talbot County, was in 1844 rector of St. John's Church, Howard County. He was born in 1800 and died in 1862. His wife was Elizabeth Catharine Thompson (1813-1892).

I met was Meade Addison<sup>21</sup> come to attend court at this place. Addison was exceedingly kind and friendly to me; subscribed \$10.00 to our church, and introduced me to every one who was at all likely to contribute. I attended court during the whole day, and picked up from different individuals about 30 dollars. Everybody was very polite even when they refused to contribute, which was the case with Hammond and Hayden.<sup>22</sup> In the evening Addison and I visited Mrs. Phelps,<sup>23</sup> the preceptress of the female academy, who, after a long and prosy palaver, came to the conclusion that she could give me nothing. She was, however, profuse in her politeness, and invited us to take tea with herself and girls, when, no doubt she would have given us the taste as well as the smell of bread and butter. I am sorry that we felt constrained to decline so Byronic a gratification. It rained nearly all day to-day, so that I was obliged to confine myself pretty closely to the house, i. e., the Court house. A case was tried in which my friend Brent<sup>24</sup> acquitted himself quite handsomely. He spoke for about an hour with great fluency and (considering the uninteresting nature of the subject), quite well. Lawyer Tyson's<sup>25</sup> speech was in the highest degree amusing—owing principally to his grotesque gesticulations. The fact is, he made the most eloquent mouths I have ever seen displayed before an intelligent jury. They greatly contributed, I have no doubt, in influencing the verdict.

March 13, Wednesday. It rained until about 10 o'clock, and afterwards cleared up very beautifully. I lingered, however, in the hope of obtaining a few more contributions, but with the exception of Mr. Alexander,<sup>26</sup> of Annapolis, who gave me \$10.00,

<sup>21</sup> William Meade Addison was the youngest son of Rev. Walter Dulany Addison. The former was U. S. District Attorney for Maryland under three administrations. Addison, *A Hundred Years Ago, Life and Times of the Rev. Walter Dulany Addison*, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> Edwin Parsons Hayden, son of Dr. Horace H. Hayden of Baltimore. He practised law at Ellicott's Mills, where he built the stone residence, "Oak Lawn," near the Court House.

<sup>23</sup> Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793-1884) the distinguished educator and author, principal of Patapsco Female Institute, Ellicott City, from 1841 to 1856. She was the mother of the late Judge Charles E. Phelps of Baltimore.

<sup>24</sup> Probably Robert James Brent (1811-1872) member of the Constitutional Convention of 1851 and attorney general 1851-1852.

<sup>25</sup> Judge John S. Tyson, who married Rachel, daughter of John Snowden of "Birmingham." He lived at "Mount Ida" on the hill at Ellicott City.

<sup>26</sup> Doubtless this was Thomas Harwood Alexander (1801-1871) a distinguished lawyer, who was an associate of Judge Theodoric Bland. He removed about 1852 to Baltimore.

I was unsuccessful. I applied to two Messrs. Dorsey, brothers of the Judge,<sup>27</sup> and to Mr. Ben Harrison,<sup>28</sup> but they pleaded the necessity of giving all they had to spare to relieve their own parish from a debt of 1200 dollars, for the erection of the parsonage-house. In the evening, I took a long stroll with Brent along the banks of the Patapsco. During our ramble we talked over all our reminiscences and adventures in Winchester, Va., where we had both studied law together. He gave me a particular account of his courtship of a certain young lady, his refusal, his subsequent acceptance, and the final dissolution of partnership, by mutual consent; to all which matters I was privy at the time, but many of which I had since forgotten. Brent is a great talker and quite agreeable. At night Addison and I went to get some oysters, which, had they only been half rotten, we might have eaten for politeness sake; but as they went rather beyond that delicate state, we were so fastidious as not to relish them.

March 14, Thursday. About 9 o'clock I again started upon my way, having picked up about \$40.00 at Ellicotts Mills. I rode along the romantic banks of the Patapsco as far as Elkridge Landing, about 8 miles, where I knocked at the door of Dr. Worthington's<sup>29</sup> house, to inquire for the Episcopal clergyman residing there. No one coming to the door after I had knocked repeatedly, I rode on two miles further, when finding it 12 o'clock, I stopped at a tavern to have my horse fed, and to take a little snack on my own account. Here I was told that the road to Annapolis was very difficult to find, but that I could obtain conveyance for myself and horse upon the railroad, about 10 miles distant. Thither I repaired, after a slight meal of eggs and crackers. When arrived at the relay house, I was told that there was no car suitable for transporting horses, but that I might send a boy from Annapolis and have my mare ridden down by the country road. This plan being the only one left me, I set out in the car for Annapolis, and reached it though distant twenty miles, in less than an hour. The railroad appears to be very well constructed, but passes through one of the dreariest and most poverty stricken countries I ever

<sup>27</sup> Brothers of Chief Justice Thomas Beale Dorsey were Caleb, Edward of Kentucky, Col. Charles Samuel Worthington Dorsey, and John Worthington Dorsey, Jr.

<sup>28</sup> Benjamin Harrison of Baltimore married Ann Caroline, daughter of Benjamin Harwood.

<sup>29</sup> Dr. Hattersly P. Worthington, father of the late George Worthington, architect of Baltimore.

saw. The appearance of an abundance of round pebbles, in the soil, between this and Elkridge, shows that this part of the country was originally under water. Whether it emerged gradually from the sea, by the same process as that which, at the present day, elevates the coast of Sweden, or whether it was suddenly thrown up by some volcanic eruption, we have no means of ascertaining. I was induced to think of the subject at all from the wonderful effects of subterranean fires and other agencies spoken of by Professor Silliman in his lectures. I arrived in Annapolis about 6 o'clock and put up at Swan & Iglehart's, to all appearances the best hotel in the State, out of Baltimore.<sup>30</sup> The rooms and staircases are all carpeted, the servants attentive and polite, and everything conducted more after the English than the American model. Feeling somewhat fatigued, I retired rather earlier than usual.

March 15, Friday. Immediately after breakfast, I took a long walk without my great coat, without being aware, before I left the house, how cold it had become. This, I imagine, gave me a bad cold, which made its appearance towards evening. It commenced raining about 10 o'clock and continued during the remainder of the day. At first, I called upon Mr. Winslow,<sup>31</sup> who insisted upon subscribing \$5.00, although I told him I was not begging from the clergy. He told me that the best way of inducing his parishioners to subscribe was to set them the example; and recollecting Chaucer's description of the good curate, I yielded to his generous motive. I then called upon Mrs. Harwood,<sup>32</sup> and afterwards, her daughter, Mrs. Tiltan, both of whom declared themselves unable to give me any assistance. They received me, however, with politeness, and Mrs. Tiltan was very pressing for me to dine with her. I next called in succession upon Mr. Cornelius McLane, who could give me nothing, upon Mr. Thomas Franklin, who also declined contributing, upon Dr. Humpfries<sup>33</sup> of St. John's College, who sent me a dollar by the servant, and

<sup>30</sup> This was the City Hotel, formerly Mann's Hotel, where Washington and other notables had put up in earlier days. It stood at Duke of Gloucester and Conduit Streets.

<sup>31</sup> Rev. Gordon Winslow, D. D., rector of St. Ann's. He was a native of England.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Henry Hall Harwood was a daughter of Col. Edward Lloyd of "Wye House," Talbot County. Her daughter Josephine married Edward G. Tilton, U.S.N.

<sup>33</sup> Rev. Hector Humphreys, D. D., native of Connecticut, became President of St. John's College in 1831 and died in office in 1857.

upon Mr. A. Randall,<sup>84</sup> who first declined, but was afterwards induced to give me \$5.00. It rained so hard during the remainder of the day, and I felt so badly, in consequence of my cold, that I kept to my room, where I occupied myself in reading and writing. With the exception of Mrs. Harwood and Mrs. Tiltan, I am a total stranger in the place—and strangers appear to be so common here that very little notice is taken of them. Even the landlord and bar-keeper, by their reserved and business-like manners, seem to look upon strangers as not exactly what they are cracked up to be.

Saturday, March 16. My cold being somewhat increased, and the rain continuing to fall even faster than it did yesterday I thought it more prudent to keep the house during the forenoon, which in one respect was a great pity, as the barber in brushing my hair, had made me look considerably sprucer than usual. My mind was greatly agitated to know in what part of my book to insert Dr. Humphrie's dollar. If I put it down in my list which contained no sum less than \$5.00, it would considerably prejudice my future prospects—not to insert it at all, in the proper place, would perhaps be somewhat insulting to the Rev<sup>d</sup> and learned President. After long and painful deliberation, I came to the conclusion to leave a line for the Dr., but not to fill it up until the \$5.00 charm was dissolved, or, if that continued unbroken until the end of my journey, not to insert it until I reached home. I may remark, however, in passing, that I did not call upon the Doctor with any intention of begging, but having pinned my visiting card upon the Bishop's letter, I generally sent it in to make known my business at the same time that I announce my name; my object in calling was to see the college. In the evening I took a walk, but felt so badly and so little in the humour for begging that I dispensed with that highly agreeable occupation. After reading and writing until quite late, I retired.

Sunday, March 17, St. Patrick's Day. Although travelling on horseback is not exactly like travelling in a banbox, still a man may be neat, if he's only clean, and I feel proud to say that I never had a nicer feel about me than when I came out of the barber's hands this morning. To be sure I was obliged to snuffle

<sup>84</sup> Hon. Alexander Randall, member of Congress, Attorney General of Maryland, 1864; president, Farmers National Bank, Annapolis.

a good deal now and then, but that only afforded me an opportunity of displaying my snow white silk handkerchief, as upon tiptoe, like a french dancing master, I tript up to the venerable looking brick church at the head of the street. The building is immensely large in proportion to the ordinary size of the congregation; although it may do very well during the session of the Legislature. Mr. Winslow has an excellent voice, read the service very effectively, and preached a very sensible sermon. He appears to be an excellent man. In the afternoon I took a stroll over the whole town, seeing the garrison,<sup>55</sup> the Governor's house, the house which formerly belonged to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, where at one end of the garden are to be seen what is very rare in this country, some interesting relics of antiquity in part of a ruinous building, in which a handsome marble doorway and the remains of a marble balustrade, seem almost tumbling into the water. There are a great many fine old houses in the town; some of them, no doubt, built during the colonial government. They have an English and aristocratic air about them, such as is seldom seen in our more modern structures. "I like them much." On my return from walking, while waiting in my room for the supper bell, the servant entered and announced Dr. Humphries. I flew down to welcome my dollar friend, and brought him immediately to my room. It seems he had some how or other, conceived that I must be a clergyman, and I was very sorry that I felt myself conscientiously bound to undeceive him. In the account he gave me of his misconception, he had me so intimately blended up with Mr. Buel and Dr. Risteau,<sup>56</sup> that, at the conclusion of it, I felt hardly certain of my own personal identity. Feeling, however, pretty much as I always did, and not at all like either of those gentlemen, I concluded the mistake lay upon the side of the Rev. and learned President, and then proceeded to explain to him the precise nature of my undertaking. To this he listened with commendable patience. At last I produced my book, and apologized to the Dr. for my omission to insert his name, honestly avowing that I did not wish to dissolve the \$5.00 enchantment, which seemed to have taken possession of my list, whereat the Dr. very generously handed me 4 dollars more, and then inscribed

<sup>55</sup> Fort Severn which occupied a part of the present grounds of the Naval Academy.

<sup>56</sup> This appears to have been Dr. Thomas C. Risteau (d. 1866) of Baltimore Co.

his name before the necromantic figure. The bell now rang for tea, to which I hospitably invited my guest; but the learned President had supped; he said he had taken coffee, but in saying so he made such a *rye* [sic] face, that I was compelled to suspect the genuineness of the article, having myself, at one time, been accustomed to college fare. In return, the Dr. very politely invited me to visit him tomorrow, a little after 9 o'clock, when he promised to take me over the institution. With this hopeful prospect before me, I shall retire to bed with a light and happy heart.

Monday, March 18. I arose this morning with a determination to proceed with energy; and accordingly, immediately after breakfasting and barberizing, I dashed out, list in hand, to make an attack upon the social circles of Annapolis. The first lady upon whom I determined to make an impression was Miss Brice,<sup>87</sup> without knowing what sort of a lady I should meet, whether old or young, handsome or homely. It was sufficient for my purpose to know that she was thought wealthy, and that she was the possessor of an immensely large house, which only required a little paint for to be converted into a sumptuous palace. In my own mind, I determined to furnish the paint at my own expense, as well as any little carpenters work that might need repair; and it was in the full glow of such generous schemes that I was ushered into the parlour, and requested to wait until Miss Brice made her appearance. This she did in about three quarters of an hour, during which, there being no fire in the room, I was enabled to contemplate with perfect coolness the panelled walls, and admire the antique fashion of the furniture. With this last the lady's appearance corresponded to a nicety. If society were geologically stratified, she might be considered as belonging to the primitive formation, with, however, a few fossiliferous remains of a nearly extinct species of calcareous shells in the upper region. Slender, bland and seductive, she appeared bearing the Bishop's letter and a five dollar note clasped tightly upon her bosom, a spot which, under such circumstances, even "Jews might kiss and infidels adore." Being neither one nor the other, I contented myself with keeping a tight eye upon the ragged but tempting prize;

<sup>87</sup> Mistress of the famous Brice House, a floor plan and front elevation of which appear on the fly-leaves of the book in which Van Bibber kept his diary.

while in tones, which for their blended rapidity and sweetness, deserve, perhaps, to be called *quick-silvery*, she apologized for not being able to bestow more for so noble a purpose. Having seen this much of Miss Brice, I felt a longing and irresistible inclination to see Miss Chase. The former lady pointed out her residence to me from her back windows, and thither I immediately repaired, in a condition which resembled more than anything else, the appearance of an extinct volcano. Before I reached the large and venerable house, however, I was all ablaze, and again carried an imaginary paint pot in my hand and an imaginary carpenter's rule in my pocket. Ample time was allowed for my fervor to cool in a room destitute alike of volcanic, solar, or artificial heat, until at length the elder Miss Hester Chase<sup>22</sup> swam into the apartment. At first sight, it appeared as if one of the old portraits hanging around had gently sunk into the wall, made a slight change of costume, silently reappeared, and gracefully descended from the frame. She was a lady who seemed to blend in the happiest manner the most contradictory elements; she was dignified, though short; intellectual, though fat; motherly, although a maiden. She, too, even in the strictest keeping with her furniture, the low but stately chairs, the pursy but elastic sofa. In her fair hand she bore a coin of virgin gold—the quarter of an eagle. Alas! my game of fives was at an end. I had striven long to keep the ball in motion, but Miss Chase's authoritative name as the donor of two dollars and fifty cents was indelibly emblazoned upon my book. You might have seen the gold enter into my soul, as with smiling lips but quivering chin, I thanked the fair contributor and bowed myself away. I entered next the enclosure of the garrison, a beautiful place, most beautifully kept. Here, I presented my papers to Major Gardiner, the Commandant, a fine looking man, of pleasing manners, who appeared very sorry that he could not afford to give me anything. As a justification he even went so far as to commence revealing some causes of pecuniary embarrassment, which I was so considerate as to interrupt. He appears to be a very amiable man, and is, no doubt, like his namesake, of historical memory (the Colonel), a brave but generous, a firm but tender soldier. From the garrison I

<sup>22</sup> Hester Ann Chase (1791-1875), daughter of the Hon. Jeremiah Townley Chase and his wife Hester, daughter of Thomas and Agnes Baldwin.

directed my steps to the opposite quarter of the city, and there made my first application to a Mrs. Captain Voorhees, whose appearance and environment suggested to my mind the idea of Flora in *deshabille*. Her windows were decorated with the most lovely flowers, her person with the most unlovely robes. It was evidently her husband who followed the water—not she. It was also evident that she expended all the soft soap she had to dispose of in her conversation—the hand article she kept treasured in her bosom. She gave me her kindest wishes in words of honey and of treacle, but could not bear to part with so congenial a companion as filthy lucre. From Mrs. Voorhees I proceeded to the house of Mrs. Ray, whom I found sitting with dishevelled locks, in a most interesting and disconsolate state of widowhood. Although no longer young, she was still handsome, and finding that the maiden ladies whom I had visited were no longer to be thought of, I began to turn my attention to widows. Having presented my letter, I watched her until she had finished it; and then commenced a long and eloquent address, to which she appeared to listen with the most intense attention; smiling at times as though she were equally pleased with the matter and manner of my discourse. With rising hope, my heart began to expand. I drew my chair closer, and infused into my tones a tenderness sufficient to dissolve a glacier. The answer came at last—and with it came a death blow to my hopes. The lady was evidently [deaf]—she hadn't heard a word I uttered. And what was still worse—notwithstanding the lady failed to discover a particle of humour, she kept me in a roar during the whole time I was conversing with her. I roared, however, to some purpose, for the lady responded to my call to the tune of five dollars. The next gentleman I visited was Col. Manadier,<sup>30</sup> an octogenarian gentleman of the old school, very courtly in his manners, and, after the manner of old men, highly loquacious in his conversation. He seems to have been a first rate man in his day and generation. He introduced me to a lady (without naming her) as his niece—I had no means of ascertaining, therefore, whether she were married or single. As, however, she had quite a large face and quite a little turban over it, I felt but little curiosity about the matter. The

<sup>30</sup> Col. Henry Maynadier (d. 1849 at 91 years of age), owned "Belvoir," near Annapolis, afterward home of Hon. Brice John Worthington.

Colonel, at length, ponied up to the \$5.00 notch, and I left the house fully determined in my own mind, whatever sacrifice it might require, never to attempt unravelling the interesting ambiguity which hung over the condition of his (to me) nameless niece. I next went into the store of George E. Franklin, whom I found behind the stove, engaged in the contemplation of a very ingenious and beautiful windmill, in miniature; which, when in operation, alternatively elevated and depressed a number of lilliputian personages, who, to judge from their countenances, seemed highly delighted with the sport. Whether or not it was the influence of this invaluable machine, the fact is he found no difficulty in raising the wind, and I left his store with \$5.00 more than when I entered it. Nothing could exceed the delight with which ~~Dante~~<sup>Deale</sup> gave me five dollars, and Mr. James Iglehart, though ordinarily hard of hearing, was not at all deaf to the Bishop's appeal. In the afternoon, I rode out to the residence of Richard McKubbin, about two miles from town. This young gentleman resides in a beautiful situation beyond College Creek, his house being situated upon the summit of a lofty hill, and commanding a view of Annapolis, the adjacent country and the distant bay. The house is old, however, and the room into which I was ushered almost destitute of furniture. There was a bottle upon the table, at which my host seemed to have been occupied (I mean the table, not the bottle), containing some dark colored liquid, which I charitably supposed to be molasses. He gave me five dollars without a murmur. During the day I had called upon one or two persons who declined contributing, but as Dante says: "Non parliam di lor, ma guarda e passa." On my return from Mr. McKubbins I visited Mr. Winslow, to tell him of my success and to take leave of him. He was very polite to me. I then visited and took tea with Mrs. Harwood, where, also, I met with Mrs. Tiltan. These ladies treated me with all the politeness and civility I forced out of them and with no more. I retired early and slept till late

On Tuesday morning, March 19, 1844. At the breakfast table I sat opposite to an old man, very coarsely clad, whom I took to be a rustic. When he left the room, however, the servant informed me that it was lawyer Macgruder, the father of a young

<sup>40</sup> Apparently Richard W. Gill, son of John Gill of Alexandria, Va., and his wife Ann E. Deale, daughter of Capt. James Deale of Anne Arundel County.

man whom I had seen lounging about the tavern ever since my arrival. . . . The old man returned quite opportunely, in a few minutes, and putting on his spectacles seated himself very deliberately to read the newspaper. I thought the Bishop's letter would be as new to him as anything else, and accordingly took the liberty of laying it before him. He perused it with great attention, looked over my book, and with a deep sigh gave me five dollars. I now prepared for departure. My bill was enormous; so much so that I was induced to look over the items and found mistakes to the amount of nearly \$5.00 which I compelled the book-keeper to rectify. I firmly believe the imposition was designed. The morning was exceedingly cool as I bounded over the hills in the direction of South River ferry. Scarcely a stone, except now and then a few rounded pebbles, was anywhere visible. The soil between Annapolis and the river appeared to be very poor. The ferry is more than half a mile wide, and the three colored oarsmen were at the same time drunk, noisy and talkative. One of them dug up for me upon the beach a little shell fish called a mannose, highly esteemed in these parts as a table luxury. Its place is indicated by a small hole in the sand, beneath which it lies to the depth, generally, of about half a foot. It resembled very much in appearance the clam. After crossing the ferry I pursued a public road, interrupted at least every quarter of a mile by a gate, frequently crossing a field without a fence upon either side, but more frequently having a fence upon one side of the way, but rarely upon both. It was in this neighborhood that I met a procession of negroes, about 14 or 15 in number, men, women and children, all bearing pieces of wood, nicely balanced upon their heads. The first two or three who passed had very moderately sized turbans, and although my mare once or twice started back aghast, she bore it upon the whole like a heroine; but when the coiffure was augmented to several yards in length, beautifully decorated with knots and branches, the sensitive animal could stand it no longer; she whirled suddenly round and fled precipitately away. I succeeded, however, in rallying her at last, and charged gallantly by the black headed phalanx in the direction of Mr. Brande's house<sup>41</sup> where I arrived about 12 o'clock.

<sup>41</sup> Rev. William F. Brand, a native of Louisiana, who became rector in 1842 of All Hallow's, Anne Arundel County, and in 1849 of St. Mary's, Harford County.

That gentleman recognized me immediately; invited me in, showed me several literary curiosities, gave me an excellent dinner, and accompanied me about two miles on my way in the afternoon. He may, without exaggeration, be called an oddity. Before dining, he invited me upstairs to wash my hands, and showed me little frames for hanging towels of his own workmanship—decidedly the ugliest things of the kind I had ever seen. His wife and sister were absent on a visit in the neighborhood. To this place he also rode in the afternoon, with a valise behind his saddle, stuffed perfectly full. Knowing that probably he did not intend to remain longer than a few hours—certainly not longer than the next morning, I asked him the reason of this. He told me he thought it would be a saving of time to take his clean clothes with him, instead of waiting at home until he could put them on. Not one word of encouragement did he give me to make a collection among his parishioners. I therefore passed through, shaking off the dust of my feet, whenever said dust interfered with the brightness of my boots. I arrived at Mr. Morsell's about 4 o'clock.<sup>42</sup> This gentleman's hospitable reception amounted almost to ecstasy. When I mentioned my object, he jumped into it to the tune of \$100.00 assuring me that I would not pick up among his parishioners a cent more or less than that specific amount. He gave me an account also of numerous extinct volcanoes, all of which were formerly to have blazed forth for the glory and prosperity of Westminster. What a blessed privilege but to peep into their silent craters! Mr. Morsell is an excellent man, amiable, kind and hospitable, and withal excitable and benevolent. It is dangerous, however, to attempt to fire him in favor of any cause whatsoever, by reason of his having one of the very finest hair-triggers ever touched in behalf of benevolence. Such precipitancy gives rise to sudden professions which are seldom realized and often repented of. I think indeed that Mr. Morsell began to repent before he sought his pillow, for finding me somewhat of a *churchman* in my speculative views (would I could say my religious ones!) his fevor in our behalf seemed gradually to relax. As Mr. Morsell has stepped exactly into old Mr. Chesley's shoes<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Rev. Joshua Morsell, a native of Calvert Co., was in 1844 rector of St. James', Anne Arundel County.

<sup>43</sup> Rev. Wm. F. Chesley, also a native of Calvert County, was rector of St. James' from 1830 until he died in 1843 and was succeeded by his son-in-law.

(having married the daughter of that reverend gentleman, the former rector of the parish) he knows exactly where they pinch. Far be it for me to presume to point out the tender spot. Mrs. Morsell appears to be a very lively, amiable woman, who laughs at nothing and at everything. She seems to look upon the bright side of life, and to find it a perpetual joke. I believe that if you should crook two of your fingers at her at the same time, it would be her death. Her sister, Miss Mary, appears equally amiable. She looks very much like Sally Owen in her loveliest moments might be expected to look, if viewed through a pane of exceedingly uneven glass. Mr. Morsell thinks there is a great likeness between his wife and Mrs. J. Brune.<sup>44</sup> The resemblance would indeed be perfect if Mrs. Morsell could be viewed through the medium of a two inch pine plank. Mrs. Chesley, poor woman, is very deaf, and her son, the Doctor, very dumb—I mean taciturn; otherwise he appears to be a very sensible and amiable young man. Another son had chills; otherwise he too, appeared to be a very sensible and amiable young man. In fact, I was highly pleased with the whole family. Morsell and I talked till a very late hour. Indeed, the length of that gentleman's tongue may be looked upon as a natural curiosity.

Wednesday, March 20. With the assistance of a map made by the fair hands of Mrs. Morsell, I set out immediately after breakfast, upon a begging expedition. Mr. Ed. Hall, upon whom I first called, not being at home and the young lady who spoke to me seeming to look upon all introduced gentlemen as dangerous and perfidious monsters, I was obliged to pursue my route to the residence of Mrs. Waters. This fair but portly widow tempted me with an apple, "and I did eat." She seemed to have some indistinct notion that Carroll County was situated somewhere within the bounds of Anne Arundel, a prejudice which I was very glad to have it in my power, by the exhibition of my travelling map, to disabuse her of. After searching a long time for writing materials, she at length requested me to make her a pen, where-with she *subscribed* five dollars to our church. I next visited the house of Mr. Jas. Kent, whose wife received me, in the absence of her husband.<sup>45</sup> If possible, her manners were colder than her

<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Brune was Anne Letitia Coale, daughter of Edward J. Coale, publisher and bookseller of Baltimore.

<sup>45</sup> Probably a son of Gov. Joseph Kent.

parlour. She heard what I had to say, and seemed to think it likely she would mention it to her husband. She has, entire, a beautiful set of teeth of the most approved manufacture—so says the parson's wife. At first I thought they were the product of her own gums. The next person I visited was Mrs. Gott, an elderly lady, who wore about her neck a rappee colored handkerchief<sup>46</sup> to correspond with what she seemed to be in the habit of inhaling. With such a beautiful display of harmonious adjustment, it will readily be concluded that the lady was up to snuff. The consequence of which was that instead of five I received another split ticket of two dollars and a half. From this place I rode to Dr. Cheston's, who, being unwell, Mrs. Cheston received me, with becoming warmth in a cold parlour.<sup>47</sup> She took my book and the Bishop's letter upstairs, and kept them at least three-quarters of an hour. When she returned, however, I was amply compensated to perceive an addition of \$10.00 to the column. Mrs. Cheston very much resembled Kitty Sullivan, but as Kitty has a very sour, and Mrs. Cheston a very sweet face, the similarity may be illustrated by the resemblance which a lemon in its natural state bears to one beautifully encrusted with sugar. From this place I cantered over to Mr. Harry Hall's. This gentleman's "house is seated on a rising ground," commanding on one side an extensive inland view, and on the other a prospect of the Chesapeake, and even of the Eastern Shore. Mr. Hall, an elderly man of genteel appearance, with light colored hair, half sandy and half gray, is very deaf. In reference to myself and my mission, he exhibited himself as, at once, open handed and close fisted. He very politely insisted upon my remaining to dine with him, but seemed principled against subscribing his name to any donation. He promised to give something, but I doubt if he ever recollects it. Mr. Wilson, whom I next called to see, was away from home. I therefore returned with all haste to Mr. Morsell's, arriving at the same moment that Mrs. Kent and her daughter drove up to the door. They came to attend prayer-meeting and a lecture, which takes place every Wednesday evening at Mr. M's residence. A number of persons were assembled, and Morsell *Methodized* without being at all in rule. During

<sup>46</sup> Rappee, a coarse kind of snuff.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. James Cheston of "Ivy Neck" in 1844 married, as his third wife, Sally Scott Murray, daughter of Daniel and Mary Dorsey Murray.

the day I collected about \$30.00. The evening we spent in sociable chit-chat.

Thursday, March 21. As soon after breakfast as I conveniently could I took an affectionate leave of Morsell and his family, and mounted upon my cantering Rosinante, proceeded in the direction of Mount Pleasant ferry over the Patuxent on the way to Upper Marlborough. The morning was cool, and the air exceedingly raw. When I had gone about three or four miles, I met a countryman walking along the road, from whom I requested directions for my onward route. These he gave me with all the politeness imaginable; until at last a sudden idea seemed to strike him, and giving me a significant look he said he knew I was from the City, and that he was well aware what sort of a character I was. When I begged him to explain, he said, "you're one of those Collectors." I acknowledged the com[pliment]. I felt conscious that I was a collector. I told him so. Without waiting for any further explanation, he bolted off, and all my entreaties could not induce him to return and complete the direction he had commenced. I presumed he thought me one of the collectors of the direct tax, and knowing himself to be a defaulter, made off as rapidly as possible. I then dismissed the matter from my thoughts. After riding forward a mile or two, I happened to look around and discovered a man on horseback with a very ferocious aspect, and carrying a gun upon his shoulder, who was gaining rapidly upon me. The thought instantly struck me, how imprudent I had been in giving the countryman to understand that I was a collector. I felt convinced that he had hurried away from me to apprise one of his confederates of the fact; and that this man now riding in pursuit was intent either upon robbery or vengeance. I felt no particular desire to be made an actor in either the one or the other of these sanguinary transactions—especially as the great solitude of the place would render it exceedingly uninteresting as a "tableau vivant"—and the idea of a "dead picture" was even worse. Actuated by all these considerations, I put spurs—or rather *heels*, to my horse—for spurs I had none—and galloped off in the most gallant style imaginable. Looking around, in a short time I perceived my pursuer rapidly gaining upon me; I urged my horse to the top of her speed; the horse behind seemed to have reached its maximum velocity. It would have been an intensely interesting question in simple equations to have set down

the speed of my horse at 40 (for she was going precisely like that often quoted and popular number) and the speed of my pursuer's horse at  $40 + x$ , and then to have calculated how long it would have taken his horse to have overtaken mine. But I felt very little inclination for cyphering at the moment, although the quantity of fine sand in the road would have rendered it a charming spot for an ancient mathematician. Onward we went, helter-skelter, up hill and down hill, through lonesome pines, which uttered a dirge-like sigh as I passed along, and every few minutes through a lumbering gate which I always tried to shut after me as tightly and securely as possible. At last I came to a famous gate. It closed in the middle of a deep mud puddle. Fortunately, it was slightly open when I reached it, so that I had very little difficulty in passing through. But as I am always conscientious about shutting gates, so I particularly attended to that duty upon the present occasion. What was my delight to perceive that the gate when closed could not possibly be opened by a person upon horseback, and with great difficulty, at any rate. Now was my time to fly; depend upon it, I made the best use of it, and when at last I reached a distant eminence and looked behind, I had the satisfaction of seeing my unrelenting pursuer dismounted from his horse, and still tugging away at the obstinate and faithful gate. I never saw him again, for shortly afterwards I reached the ferry, was pushed across by a stoical colored man, and pursued my way through a *gatey* but still a fertile looking country in the direction of Upper Marlborough. This place I reached about 2 o'clock. This town is very curiously as well as very beautifully situated. It is surrounded in all directions except the Southeast by high hills, and appears to lie in a basin which must formerly have served as a reservoir of water. The idea struck me the moment I cast my eye over the prospect, and what was my surprise to find it verified in a high marl-bank quite close to the town, where the innumerable remains of extinct species of shell fish were distinctly visible. This to me was very curious, as I had never before seen a marl-bank. After a late dinner I shaved, read and wrote until tea-time, after which I visited the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Trapnell,<sup>48</sup> whom I found sitting with his wife, a very pretty

<sup>48</sup> Rev. Joseph Trapnell, Jr., a native of Maryland, in 1844 was rector of Trinity Church, Upper Marlboro.

woman, as plump and as round as a cherry. Trapnell gave me every encouragement and afforded me every facility in making my application among his parishioners. He is a very agreeable man in his conversation, and shows a remarkably fine set of teeth when he laughs. I retired to bed at an early hour.

Friday, March 22. Early in the morning, with the assistance of an excellent chart prepared for me by Mr. Trapnell, I took my circuit among his parishioners. The first person I called on was Mr. Clagett,<sup>49</sup> whose wife, he being unwell, read the Bishop's letter very slowly for her own benefit in the first instance, and then taking it into an adjoining room, reperused it, aloud, at least four times, as different members of the family made their appearance, in succession. During all this time I was left to the refreshing coolness of the parlour where I had first been ushered. But coldness is nothing when attended with profit—as in this case it was, for Mrs. Clagett at length reappeared and presented me with \$10.00. Her husband is said to be very wealthy. They live in a good house, well situated, with many indications of plainness and rusticity; together with some few, very few efforts at style. From this place I rode over to Mr. Sasscer's, whom, absent when I first called, I met as I was riding away. Instead of telling him my business in the road, as I might easily have done, I thought it more politic to accept his invitation and ride home with him, where, before a warm fire, the rudy glow of benevolence might descend from his cheeks into his heart. It seems that I judged rightly in some measure, for, saying that he was somewhat conscientious about the matter himself, he nevertheless insisted upon his wife's giving me \$5.00. I acted upon the maxim of not looking "the gift horse in the mouth" and to this day Mr. Sasscer's scruples remain to me a matter of interesting and inscrutable perplexity. I then called at the houses of Mr. Chew and his nephew,<sup>50</sup> who live near each other. They were both absent. Mr. Hodkins,<sup>51</sup> whom I next called upon, although unwilling to contribute anything himself, notwithstanding his perfect ability

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Clagett, of "Weston," 6th Thomas in direct line from the emigrant. His 2nd wife was Adeline, daughter of Dr. Thomas Ramsey Hodges, and widow of Dr. Benjamin Mundell. They were married Nov. 13, 1838.

<sup>50</sup> Philemon Chew, son of Maj. Richard Chew and of his 2nd wife Frances (Holland) Chew. The nephew was Leonard Hollyday Chew.

<sup>51</sup> "Mr. Hodkins," was probably Thomas Hodgkins who married Lucy Brooke, daughter of Col. Thomas Brooke.

to do so, yet took the liveliest interest in helping me to find the elder Mr. Chew, upon whose generosity he seemed to place a much higher reliance than upon his own. This interesting feature in Mr. Hodkins' character—his entire distrust of his own good qualities, and his entire reliance upon those of his neighbors—is worthy of notice and may be held up as an instructive example. In the absence of her husband, Mrs. Chew invited me to dine with her. Mrs. Baker [Brooke?] and Miss Brookes were invited guests. The dinner was good, my hostess kind, and the ladies affable. I spent consequently an agreeable time. On my leaving her, Mrs. Chew told me that if her husband would not contribute something towards the building of our church, she would. The Chew house is handsomely situated upon an eminence commanding an extensive prospect of the distant Patuxent and a large tract of intervening country. They appear to live pretty much in our own style—which I take it, is neither too plain nor too elegant for comfort. From this place I returned to Upper Marlborough, and among the citizens first called upon the portly, sonorous and wealthy Mr. Scott.<sup>52</sup> This gentleman flew into a violent passion as soon as he read the Bishop's letter, and stated that he never would contribute a single cent to the erection of any church, until he knew what trumpet was to be blown in it. I might have told him that I should have been blowing a very brazen one myself, if I undertook to inform him of any of those secrets which belong exclusively to futurity; but I curbed this witty sally, because it would not in any way have corresponded with the tirade of balderdash Mr. Scott thought proper to inflict upon me. I made no reply, and seeking Mr. Beale<sup>53</sup> and finding him and nothing else, next directed my steps to another quarter of the town. Mr. Pratt gave me \$10.00 in the twinkling of an eye; this gentleman is spoken of as the most prominent candidate for the next Gubernatorial vacancy.<sup>54</sup> If I can do so consistently, I'll patronize Pratt.

<sup>52</sup> Horatio Scott who married Henrietta Maria Waring, daughter of Col. Henry Waring of "Mount Pleasant."

<sup>53</sup> Capt. George Beale, who married the widow of Capt. Eversfield Bowie. He was grandfather of Truxton Beale and Gen. Edward F. Beale.

<sup>54</sup> Gov. Thomas George Pratt (1804-1869), was born in Georgetown, D. C., a descendant of Thomas Pratt of Prince George's Co. and his wife Eleanor Magruder. He practised law in Upper Marlboro, was elected Governor in 1844 and U. S. Senator in 1849. An ardent secessionist, he was confined in Fortress Monroe. His wife was Adelaide, daughter of Gov. Joseph Kent.

With lawyer Tuck's<sup>55</sup> subscription of \$5.00 my labors of the day came to a termination, though I did myself the pleasure to attend a lecture at Mr. Trapnell's house at night. As a number of people were present, and the room was very close, with a hot coal fire in it, I was compelled to give many nods of approbation before the lecture concluded, which, as I did not wish to flatter Mr. Trapnell unnecessarily, I hope he did not perceive. I went to bed at an early hour, and slept like a top until

Saturday, March 23, when, after breakfasting and Trapnellizing, I set out in pursuit of Mr. Mackenheimer's,<sup>56</sup> intending however to call upon certain persons by the way. Mr. Hilliary, to whose house I first went, gave me the agreeable spectacle of a long beard and an excellent hand writing; he subscribed five dollars, with a promise to pay at some future period. Thence, I rode to Mr. John Hodges, who exhibited before me three or four of the prettiest children I had ever seen; I patted and praised them all, and in return received a note for \$5.00. This gentleman's appearance pleased me very much; he deserves the handsome place and handsome style in which he lives, for he appears to be in the highest degree amiable, generous and hospitable. But, if pleased with John, much more was I captivated by Benjamin Hodges.<sup>57</sup> The only man I had met with since leaving home whom I yearned to make my bosom friend was Benjamin Hodges. He lives in a small but neat house on the very summit of a lofty hill; in the same way as his heart, which appears to be the abode of all the domestic virtues, towers above the generality of its kind. At this place I dined, and should have been glad to have supped, bedded and breakfasted there, had not the prospect of Washington and the delights there to be experienced admonished me to proceed. Mrs. Hodges appears to have a spirit congenial with her husband; and old Mrs. Hodges, the mother,

<sup>55</sup> Wm. Hallam Tuck (1808-1884), married Margaret Sprigg Bowie Chew. Member of the House of Delegates, later of the Maryland Senate, member of the Constitutional Convention of 1851, he became judge of the Court of Appeals in 1852 and later was a Circuit Judge.

<sup>56</sup> Rev. George Lindenberger Machenheimer, a native of Baltimore, in 1844 was rector of Queen Anne's Parish, embracing St. Barnabas' Church and Henderson Chapel. The latter was created a separate parish as Holy Trinity later in the year 1844. The church is at the present Collington. St. Barnabas' was and is one of the finest old church buildings in the State.

<sup>57</sup> John and Benjamin Hodges were sons of John Hodges of Upper Marlboro and his wife Rebecca Berry.

although she wheezes most distressingly, may, for aught I know, be as estimable as either of them. The country passed through during my afternoon's ride appeared to be very fertile, and must in summer be very beautiful; it is called the forest of Prince George's.<sup>88</sup> There seems to be no intermediate class between the slave and the extensive landholder. The fields appear to be immensely large; and the road, without a fence upon either side, winds its way through the midst of them. Every half mile there is a gate, and every now and then appears a stately residence. I generally made it a point to inquire the name of the owners, and the replies induced me to believe that a large part of the country is settled by the Bowie family. I met with but two white persons during a ride of at least fourteen miles, and those two, riding together, I encountered just in time to prevent my losing my way. Mr. Mackenheimer's house is situated about 50 yards from a very neat little chapel, which is about 10 miles distant from the parish church, which venerable building I had passed shortly after leaving Mr. Hodges's. The situation of both house and chapel is very beautiful and some care seems to have been devoted to their decoration. The pastor received me hospitably in the first instance; but *most* hospitably when he ascertained my object and euphonious appellation. As he himself rejoices in a long, sonorous name (George Lindenberger Mackenheimer) he seems to have a particular fancy for measuring patronymics with every long-telled son of Adam he encounters; and as he is usually victorious in all such engagements, it seems to preserve his mind in a state of the most philanthropic good humour. I am only left to conjecture what would be the acerbity of his feelings in meeting with such men as Hononchrotonthologos or Aldiborontifoscophornio. As, however, after a tight spell of it, he beat me by at least three letters, he seemed to be overpowered with joyful emotion, and I verily believe I shall retain him as a friend through life. But, besides the length of our names, we found a new bond of attachment in a connection by marriage with our families. The moment this connection was discovered, although I had for some time been conversing with Mr. Mackenheimer upon terms of the most intimate acquaintanceship, the good pastor commenced a formal

<sup>88</sup> In colonial times "the forest" meant country away from tidewater. After that came "the back country." These terms were used in both Maryland and Virginia.

introduction of me to his family—saying, Mrs. Mackenheimer, Mr. V. B.—Miss Willard, Mr. V. B.—children, Mr. V. B. Miss Willard, the governess, a New England lady, was very delicate in her appearance; Mrs. Mackenheimer, on the contrary, was very portly and robust, and *children* (for I had thus been introduced to them) were, like all others in the world, various in their beauty and qualifications. "We talked of virtue till the time of bed;" and if there be any virtue in sleep, I spent the night certainly to great advantage.

Sunday, March 24. The sun shone brightly, but the air was piercing cold, as, during the forenoon Mr. Mackenheimer's large and fashionable looking congregation assembled at the chapel. On either side of the building there was a row of handsome equipages, and fine looking riding horses were fastened in every direction around the Chapel yard. The interior presented more the aspect of a city gathering, than a congregation from the bosom of a forest. The serman was first-rate; *read* to be sure, but read in first-rate style. It was upon the subject of liberality in behalf of charitable purposes, and where it was at all necessary, cut directly to the quick. I have seldom been better pleased. Before service, Mr. Tyler,<sup>59</sup> learning by accident the nature of my mission, voluntarily gave me \$5.00. During the afternoon, I spent a very pleasant time in conversation with Mr. Mackenheimer and his family, that gentleman being exceedingly pleasant and talkative, and his family in the highest degree kind and hospitable. He read me a short journal of his giving an account of a visit to Cape May during the last summer, and I, in return, read him some extracts from my journal, with which he was pleased to express himself quite gratified.

Monday, March 25. After breakfast, I rode over to the residence of Senator Bowie,<sup>60</sup> but not finding him at home, returned to the parsonage, and shortly after, in company with Mr. Mackenheimer set out for Washington. We passed through a poor and uninteresting tract of country, and arrived about three o'clock greatly fatigued by reason of the unusual warmth of the weather.

<sup>59</sup> Grafton Tyler, M. D., who married Mary Margaret, daughter of Walter Bowie, Jr., of "Locust Grove," Prince George's Co. Dr. Tyler was from Frederick, Md., but settled in Georgetown, D. C.

<sup>60</sup> Col. William Duckett Bowie, State Senator, of "Fairview," father of Gov. Oden Bowie by his first wife, Mary Eliza Oden.

The parson and I repaired immediately to an oyster cellar, where we were provided with a plentiful meal and a good glass of wine. I spent the afternoon chiefly in strolling about and lounging in bookstores. There was need of something soothing to calm the multitude of ideas which agitated my mind. At length I took a cup of strong tea, but thinking that scarcely sufficient, I fortified it with a cup of coffee. Thus primed, I strolled by moonlight in the direction of the President's house, and, with the aid of numerous directions, found my way at length in front of the small but neat and quiet residence of Mrs. Eveleth. After rapping for some time, a colored girl appeared and answered, in reply to my inquiry, that Miss Kate<sup>61</sup> was at home, but confined by sickness to her bed. Surprise and sorrow took possession of me for a few moments—when, sending up my card, I turned dejectedly away. Scarcely had I gone fifty yards from the door, when the maid came running after me to tell me that Miss Kate expected to be up tomorrow, and hoped that I would then call upon her. Such was my joy at receiving this intelligence, that, colored as she was, I could have turned around and given her a hearty kiss. It being Lent, however, I abstained, and after a tedious walk, solicited and obtained a long and private interview with "tired Nature's sweet restorer."

Tuesday, March 26. After breakfast, Mr. Mackenheimer accompanied me on a visit to the rector of Trinity parish, the Rev. Mr. Stringfellow,<sup>62</sup> and after measuring names with him, and finding that they were exactly even, stated concisely the nature of his errand and left the house as speedily as possible. It is impossible to convey any idea in words of Mr. Mackenheimer's peculiarities of manner. Nothing but mimicry of a high order could convey any impression of his numerous little oddities and excentricities. I take him to be a very amiable man, of great simplicity of heart and character. He strongly reminds me of his own uncle, Jacob Lindenberger, who was also my uncle, by marriage. Expression of countenance, tone of voice, peculiarity of manner, bent of mind and disposition—everything, in a word, recalls to my mind the recollection of my deceased uncle, whom in childhood I was so

<sup>61</sup> Daughter of James Eveleth, of the Office of U. S. Engineers. The family lived at this time on G St., N. W., between 18th and 19th Sts.

<sup>62</sup> Rev. Horace Stringfellow, of Virginia, rector of Trinity Church, Washington, from 1839 to 1847.

fond of, but who died when the parson was much too young to be capable of imitating him—a fact, which proves that manners, habits and disposition are in a great measure innate, and not the result of education. Mr. Stringfellow, although excessively cold in his manners, was nevertheless generous in his actions. He gave me a long list of the wealthiest of his parishioners, and a letter of introduction to the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr. Hawley. Between 12 and 1 o'clock I called upon Miss Kate—the incomparable Kate Eveleth! and found her the more interesting, perhaps, by reason of her hoarseness and debility, the effects, of her late indisposition—a severe attack of croup. Oh, Heaven's! how graciously she received me! Ah me! how poorly my own behaviour responded to the reception! But, I could not help it. Had I been a total stranger, among none other but total strangers, I could have been at ease. I could have been merry, perhaps happy. But to meet for the first time with Kate, whom I knew so well, for whom I entertain so sincere a friendship, in the midst of a crowd of people not only strangers, but absolutely disagreeable to me (the Pottses, the Grahams and the Crawfords), produced a revulsion of feelings from which during the whole time of my stay in Washington, I was never enabled to recover. For this foolish weakness (a weakness alike foolish and unconquerable) I was punished by observing in Kate a total want of that jovial cordiality which formerly subsisted between us, and a gradually increasing reserve which only tended to augment the embarrassment of my position. I subsided at length into a fixed solemnity of deportment, the rigidity of which it would have been difficult even for Punch or Harlequin to relax. I can have but a very faint conception of the impression which my deportment must have produced. Conceive of a man naturally disagreeable, endeavoring to heighten the dispensations of nature by a frightful length of visage, and a dogged sullenness of demeanor. The result must undoubtedly have been the exhibition of all that is most intolerable in the social state. Notwithstanding this, my stay in Washington was anything but disagreeable, indeed there was a pleasure attending it, which, considering the circumstances just alluded to, it is difficult to explain, almost impossible to conceive of. There was a magic influence of some kind which forced me to linger there from day to day—and infused a species of transport into

what must have appeared to others a state of misery. But enough of this! Mrs. Maynadier most hospitably insisted upon a removal of my baggage to her house that very evening. Here, I was provided with every comfort, and treated with a warmth of hospitality I had never before experienced. Never shall I forget the kindness experienced under the roof of Capt. and Mrs. Maynadier. Alas! How shabbily did I respond to it! Without retaining any longer the journal form, I will group together the principal incidents of my visit to Washington, and hasten home as rapidly as possible. [End of Ms. At the back of the book are the following:]

## [ESTIMATED COLLECTIONS FOR WESTMINSTER CHURCH BUILDING]

Subscription list,	\$ 620.	
Money in bank,	292.	
Baltimore collections,	90.	
Travelling collections,	246.	
Mr. Raymond,	50.	
Lectures,	16.	
	<hr/>	
	\$1314.	
Expectations traveling,	50.	} Expectations
Frederick,	200.	
Baltimore and elsewhere,	436.	
	<hr/>	
	\$2000.	

## [ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES]

March 6	Fourman	5.00
"	Cars	1.25
"	Carrying valise	.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	Silliman's lecture & Man Chew	.62 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 7	Gloves for self & Chew	2.00
"	Saddle bags, bridle, martingale & spur	6.00
"	Books, blanket	.50
"	T.i.L.	1.87 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 8	Comb & brush	1.00
"	Umbrella	1.50
Mar. 8.9	Dinner, Supper, lodging, breakfast & servant	2.00
	Cars to Sykesville	1.25
	Bill at Sykesville for horse & self	2.00
	Sundries	.25

March 11.	Dinner & horsefeed, between Sykesville & W. Harrison's	.50
	Oysters & sundries at Elli. Mills	.50
	Servant at Hugh Harrisons	.20
		<hr/>
		27.57½
March 12-14	at Ellicotts Mills	4.00
	Servants	.25
	Passage on Cars from relay house to Annapolis	1.00
	Horse at relay house, one night	.50
	Dinner, horse & servant on road	.50
	Gates & cakes	.25
March 15	Boy for bringing horse from relay house to Annapolis	1.75

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Ranger Mosby.* By VIRGIL CARRINGTON JONES. Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. 347 pp. \$3.50.

Today we read much of guerilla fighting, underground organization and partisan warfare, activities which are recognized as important insurance for ultimate victories against aggressive enemies. It is difficult to realize that not long ago the value of such activity was questioned since the science of military tactics had no place for it in its manuals. Such was the case in the fighting of 1861-1865.

Outlining early guerilla warfare during this period and contrasting our current impression of the personalities of such fighters, this new book on Colonel John S. Mosby, the dashing Southern leader of organized partisan activity against Hooker, Meade, Sheridan and Grant, reveals him as a most successful tactician of such fighting, and a singularly well-educated man who "could lead his men into the jaws of death one moment and talk of birds and books and poetry the next." Wearing his plumed hat and flowing, red-lined cape, he directed mounted "strike—disrupt—retire" tactics paralleling Commando and Ranger activities of current days. The Virginian was far ahead of his time in using his troopers for scouting and pestering, designed always to upset and delay the enemy's plans. With all this dash and color, catalysed by his commander, General J. E. B. Stuart, Mosby remained a calm thinker who based all of his decisions on his analysis of the facts at hand; this was characterized by his active support of General Ulysses S. Grant for President during the post-war political campaigning of 1867 against strong Southern opposition.

Mosby's military judgment was held in high esteem by Lee, and many of the Northern reports are interwoven with praise of the raider's prowess in disrupting their lines.

It is interesting to note that while the armies of Lee and Johnston were suffering from lack of supplies and replacements weeks before Appomattox, Mosby's command had risen at that time to its greatest strength in efficiency and numbers. This was due largely to the absorption of trained cavalrymen from broken commands, and the attraction of informal discipline under which the Partisan Rangers operated.

The author has delved into a large amount of available source material to fill in the outline formulated at wintry sessions around the hot stove of the Gordonsville store and around the banquet tables at Confederate reunions. His substantiation of many incidents cements them to the structure of the past as factual data. By attempting a fictionalized introduction

through the first chapter, some uncertainty is encountered; this can be forgotten if the reader succeeds in bridging this shakiness to reach the solid ground of facts in succeeding chapters.

During recent years a number of scholarly studies on figures and phases of the Civil War have come forth to replace many of the biased, less accurate volumes, published largely during the "cooling" period after the heat of battle had subsided. This factual, yet colorfully interesting picture of Mosby will receive hearty welcome from students of military tactics and personalities.

EDWARD M. STRAUSS, JR.

*The Development of the Colonial Newspaper.* By SIDNEY KOBRE. Pittsburgh: the author, 1944. 188 pp.

This slender volume is an excellent introduction to the subject it ably handles. It contains a well-rounded synthesis of the origin and development of the colonial newspaper, illustrating thereby the political economic and cultural growth of early America, of the fight for freedom of the press, and of the newspaper's part in the building-up of colonial solidarity. This book also stresses the inter-relationship of these various forces as they weave an American pattern.

Mr. Kobre has managed to let each newspaper speak for itself: all the newspapers from 1690 to 1783 are presented, while all the important ones are examined in some detail. The liberal use of well-chosen quotations serves to bind the story together into a readable and refreshing work.

Accounts of the colonial newspaper are found in the general works of Mott, Bleyer and Lee, with Lawrence Wroth's specializations in the colonial field. Mr. Kobre's book is a welcome addition to the colonial newspaper and serves as a satisfactory introduction to that important and productive field in the history of American life and thought. It is a serious attempt to explain the newspaper and is not a mere compilation of facts.

Of particular interest to Maryland readers, is the liberal amount of space devoted to the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Maryland Journal*. The picture of Maryland life and culture in chapter VIII is well worth reading. While the story of Peter Zenger is properly recorded, great emphasis is placed on the importance of William Goddard as an exponent of a free press, in that editor's fight with the Whig Club of Baltimore. Here was not popular opposition to a royal governor but the uphill fight of a courageous and independent editor against Baltimore patriots.

This book contains a table of contents, a bibliography, and a series of valuable charts and tables illustrating newspaper growth, population growth and export-import growth. Unfortunately there is no index. It is hard to understand how such an important feature of scholarly work could be omitted.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

*St. Charles College, Catonsville, Md.*

*A Life of Travels.* By C[ONSTANTINE] S[AMUEL] RAFINESQUE. (Chronica Botanica, Vol. 8, Number 2.) [Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica Co., 1944.]. [291-]360 pp. \$2.50.

This monograph presents an account of his voyages and travels—mostly in Sicily and in the United States—by the well-known botanist, ichthyologist and archaeologist, C. S. Rafinesque. Like many another remarkable man, this one was of mixed origin, the son of a Frenchman, who married a citizen of Greece, a woman of German extraction née Schmaltz. The mother's unlovely name stood him in good stead when in Sicily, for he added it to his own, so he tells us, in order to pass as an American, which, for some reason or other, was in the interest of safety. This reprint of the 1836 edition is accompanied by an interesting introduction by Dr. E. D. Merrill, of the Arnold Arboretum, in which a somewhat higher estimate is accorded to Rafinesque's work as a botanist, than that which, it appears, has been hitherto conceded by persons competent to hold an opinion on that subject. But whatever his standing as a scientist may be, or should be, Rafinesque was certainly an extraordinary, and in some respects, admirable, man. Sicily seems to have been the land of his choice, although to him it was an isle "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile." He makes exception of certain kindly Sicilian scientists, who took an interest in his work (personal magnetism must have been one of his assets in life, for, wherever he went, he never lacked assistance); and he gives credit to the bandits for seldom, if ever, robbing one who carried little money on him and went unarmed.

In the United States Rafinesque travelled hundreds of miles through forests and over mountains in quest of rare plants, generally and by preference afoot, for, as he truly says, one can not conveniently dismount from a horse every now and then in order to examine a flower. He travelled mostly alone, had little money on his person and was probably not infrequently unarmed. Apparently, he had not the slightest fear of loneliness, of lawless men or of wild beasts. He did not, to be sure, penetrate very far to the West—no farther than what is now the state of Tennessee; but he wanted to join Lewis and Clark's Expedition, an ambition in which he was disappointed. Wherever he went Rafinesque sought out men of distinction, who were likely to be interested in his work. He enjoyed a great deal of hospitality, for which, no doubt, his hosts felt themselves well repaid. The present work is illustrated with two likenesses of Rafinesque and enlivened with drawings by himself of two of his "belles amies de Kentucky," both unidentified, one Juliet, to whom he dedicated some verses, the other without a name, but of whom he says: "Elle était séduisante, Belle aimable et charmante." This seductive Blue Grass belle appears against a background representing a tropical landscape, including a volcano in eruption (Mount Etna?). This reminds us of a travelling opera troupe which gave a performance of *Lucia di Lammermoor* in a certain city in Georgia. The night before they had given *Aida*. One of

the scenes in "Lucia" called for a background of the Scottish highlands; but instead of that the astonished audience saw the River Nile and the Pyramids!

WILLIAM B. MARYE.

*The English Geographers and the Anglo-American Frontier in the Seventeenth Century.* By FULMER MOOD. (University of California Publications in Geography, Volume 6, No. 9, pp. 363-396.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944. [33 pp.] 35 cents.

This interesting essay discusses the part played by the seventeenth century English geographers in the colonization of America. The first part provides a chronological account of the works of those writers, considered in four classes: handbooks of general or world geography, purely American geographical works, volumes devoted exclusively to the English settlements, and books dealing with single areas or colonies. The conclusion is that, for the most part, the geographers did not produce works of merit.

The first good book—George Gardner's *Description of the New World or America*—appeared in 1651, almost half a century after the beginning of colonial activity. It was twenty years before the publication of another first-rate work, John Ogilby's *America* (1671). The general run of writers slapped together what data they could find, appropriated portions of previous books, and turned out musty tomes which lacked the freshness of personal knowledge, smelled of the closet, and were invariably inaccurate. It is interesting to note that Maryland received only slight attention from anyone; New England, Virginia, and the island colonies—especially the last—dominated the scene.

The second section of the essay surveys the attitude of the geographical writers toward colonization, and demonstrates "the intimate connection that existed between the business forces that promoted expansion on the one hand, and the literary advocates who supported and justified this expansionist movement on the other." It is shown that, from the earliest times, the geographers allied themselves with the economic interests, aiding the promoters of settlements with favorable descriptions, generous comment, and even active partisanship. Several writers, indeed, grasped the possibilities of a farflung English empire long before the merchants and the diplomatists were aware of them. The final impression is, therefore, that the geographers were more effective as promoters than as observers and chroniclers.

This compact summary is a valuable contribution to colonization literature.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

*American Historical Societies, 1790-1860.* By LESLIE W. DUNLAP. Madison, Wis.: the Author, 1943. 238 pp. \$3.50.

The 65 societies which had been founded by 1860 are here presented in a synthesis comprising the early history of the movement to collect the materials of American history and to make them known. Not all of this number survived; many were local to small communities and enjoyed brief careers.

The author shows the motives which actuated the founders, the leadership, largely individual, which gave the successful ones their vitality and the trends in development and activities. This general picture is supported by a thumbnail sketch of each of the 65 societies. The Maryland Historical Society attracts notice by several unusual features, not all of which have been retained; for instance, provision for county chapters, formation of a gallery of fine arts other than historical, and efforts to make its rooms a social "resort." It appears that this Society was twelfth in order of founding of those organizations now extant which bear state names. That of Massachusetts led in 1791. Then came New York 1804, Rhode Island and Maine 1822, New Hampshire 1823, Pennsylvania 1824, Connecticut 1825, Virginia 1831, Kentucky 1838, Georgia 1839, Vermont 1840 and Maryland 1844.

J. W. F.

*This Is Carlisle: A History of a Pennsylvania Town.* By MILTON EMBICK FLOWER and LENORE EMBICK FLOWER. [Carlisle: the Authors, 1944.] 72 pp. \$2.00.

This sketch of a town which is Maryland's neighbor wears a fresh and inviting aspect. From the founding of Carlisle in 1750 to the present War, the development of the community is outlined with accompanying biographical data on the leading worthies. It is surprising to see the number of men of renown who figured in the town's history—Bouquet, Forbes, André, James Wilson, Armstrong, Molly Pitcher, Commodore Elliott, Brackenridge and others who lived in Carlisle for short or long periods.

The town's physical development, its remaining examples of fine architecture, its schools, churches and clubs receive appropriate notice. Well illustrated, well organized and well written, this little book should spur other communities to emulation in history writing.

J. W. F.

## OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Sullivan Expedition of 1779. Contemporary Newspaper Comment and Letters.* By ALBERT HAZEN WRIGHT. [Cornell University] (Studies in History, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8.) Ithaca: the Author, 1943. 53, 50, 34, 9 pp. Gift of author.
- Missouri—Day by Day.* By FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER. Columbia, Mo.: State Historical Society, 1943. 499 pp. Gift of Society.
- Karen Long, Medical Technician.* By MARY ELLIS TURNER. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1943. 211 pp. Gift.  
The story of a volunteer in one of the laboratories of Johns Hopkins Hospital by a Baltimore instructor in the Hopkins Medical School.
- Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Bon Secours Hospital, Baltimore, Maryland, 1919-1944.* [Baltimore: the Hospital, 1944.] 56 pp. Gift of Mother Superior.
- 70 Years of St. Matthews Parish, Garrett County, Md., 1870-1940.* By THEKLA FUNDENBERG WEEKS. [Oakland, Md.: the Author, no date.] 52 pp. Gift of the author.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## A LAWYER'S ADVICE TO A LAWYER SON

A letter written by Henry Hollyday (1771-1850) of "Ratcliffe Manor," Talbot County, to his son Richard C. Hollyday (1810-1885) then settling in Cumberland to practise law, has kindly been transcribed for use in the *Magazine* by Mr. Frederic Hollyday of "Kingshaven," St. Michaels', a member of the Society. The original is owned by the heirs of Col. Henry Hollyday of "St. Aubins," Easton. The writer was born at "Ratcliffe Manor," graduated at Princeton, married Ann, daughter of Richard Bennett and Ann Murray Carmichael of Queen Anne's County, served in the Maryland Senate and as judge of the Levy Court. The younger Hollyday later moved to Elkton, served as clerk of court, as a member of the House of Delegates, and as secretary of state under six governors.

Ratcliffe, Augst. 20th 1834

"My Dear Richard

Altho I have not written to you since your settlement at Cumberland yet I have never ceased to feel great anxiety & deep concern on your account. It is by no means to be expected that you would get employment in your profession immediately, but this leizure may be turned to advantage, as it will afford you an opportunity of gaining a better knowledge of your profession by study, or improving yourself in general literature. I would not have you despair of obtaining business where you are at present located. You ought by no means to feel discouraged at small difficulties, but remember by unremitting industry, & perseverance, men seldom fail of success in any profession. I cannot omit to offer on occasion a few other suggestions, which I think may be useful to you in after life & to which I trust you will give that attention the importance of the

subject requires. In transactions of business entrusted to your management always observe *diligence, fidelity & dispatch*. I have known men who have neither talents, nor knowledge of the law—by diligently *collecting, faithfully*, & speedily paying of claims gain very extensive practice. I need scarcely remark that nothing should ever induce you to make use of your clients money. My Uncle James Hollyday stood as high for sound judgment, & extensive knowledge of the law as most men of his day. But he was *preeminent* as a man of *integrity & fidelity*. One of his maxims as I have heard was never to support an unjust cause. This I acknowledge would frequently be a difficult point to determine but cases might often occur when the injustice might be palpable. Another rule of conduct (which applies more to political than professional life) was never to *support a party* further than his conscience & judgment approved. This rule I most earnestly recommend for adoption as calculated to secure not only your own approbation but also the approval of all wise & good men. I trust there is no occasion to caution you against forming associations calculated to lead into immoralities or dissipations, as your own good sense, moral habits, & experience in life, will sufficiently guard you. . . . It is now . . . to remit you \$50 or 100 if necessary. You can let me know [how] much & when you will want it. We are all tolerably well & unite in affect remembrances & best wishes for yr. success. I remain yr. affect. Father

Hy. Hollyday

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*Boteler*—Who was the father of Walter Boteler (October 22, 1763-August 22, 1829)? He married Jemima Davis on December 15, 1785. Please cite proof.

Reply to Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

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*Summers*—Wanted: Maiden name of Mary — Summers, wife of John Summers (who died 1769, Prince George's Co., Md.). She was probably born about 1704 and is thought to have been Mary Moore (daughter of James, Sr.). Should like proof and list of sisters and brothers.

BEULAH J. JOHNSON,  
625 Huckins Hotel, Oklahoma City, Okla.

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*Wells*—Can any one give any data about Thomas Wells of Calvert Co., Md., an early Maryland settler who removed to Albemarle Co., Virginia before 1779? Would like to correspond with someone of that descent.

Mrs. ANNA M. HALSEY,  
2306 Happy Hollow Blvd., Omaha, Nebr.

*Rouse, Busey, Philpot.*—Wish information regarding members of these families who were in military or naval service during the Revolution, particularly the line of James Rouse, born July 1, 1799, in Ohio, of Maryland ancestry. His wife was Edith Busey, born Nov. 18, 1802, in Kentucky. Also data on Matthew Bussey or Busey, born April 9, 1742, who married Edith Philpot (born in Md. 1740), widow of — Wilcoxon.

Miss EMMA M. ROUSE,  
625 Jackson St., Anoka, Minn.

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#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

RALPH ROBINSON is a former president of the Baltimore Bar Association. He contributed an article on the treatment of prisoners in the War of 1812 to the *American Historical Review* for October, 1943, and to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, 1942, on fresh findings concerning the British in Maryland in 1814. ☆ DR. WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR., a frequent contributor to the *Magazine*, needs no introduction ☆ DR. FRANK B. JEWETT, vice-president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and chief of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, spared time from his busy days to indulge, largely for the benefit of the Society, in a retrospective view of the significance of Morse's invention. ☆ Formerly corresponding secretary of the Society, J. ALEXIS SHRIVER is a leading authority on events in Maryland past and present and the author of nearly all the road markers of the State which afford so much pleasure to history-minded wayfarers.